

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MEANINGFUL WORK

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem and Relevance

The meaning of work has been shown to influence some of the most important outcomes in organizations, such as work motivation, absenteeism, work behavior, job engagement, job satisfaction, empowerment, stress, individual performance, and personal fulfillment (Hackman & Oldham, 1974, 1975, 1976; Chalofsky, 2010; Rosso et al., 2010). Notwithstanding, there are fundamental differences in what scholars think MW is, and, correspondingly, they offer contrasting suggestions on how to make work meaningful (Rosso et al., 2010). Traditionally the concept of Meaningful Work (MW) has been investigated in organizational studies from a functionalist perspective, describing MW either as a psychological phenomenon, i.e., a mental state, which serves individuals to adapt to their environment for need satisfaction (Maslow, 1954; Sites, 1973; Burton, 1990; Rubenstein, 2001; VandenBos, 2015), or as a phenomenon that arises in social systems, which can be utilized for the regulation of organizations (Rosso et al., 2010; Burrell & Morgan, 2017). However, constructionists argue that meaning is not inherent in phenomena, but that it is rather socially constructed (Berger, 1963; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1999; Harris, 2008). In contrast to extant MW literature, this study takes a constructionist perspective towards MW, arguing that MW is a social phenomenon, and a social construction in particular. With the constructionist perspective the researcher intends to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of MW and its constituents¹, so that MW can “be understood in terms that are adequate to its empirical reality” (Berger, 1967), thus contributing fundamental insights to MW research. To achieve the latter, the study investigates empirically the social construction of MW. Its participants reconstructed MW in verbal and non-verbal interaction with the researcher, enacting societal institutions and creating inter-subjective realities along the way. The study shows how organizational members made sense of and coped with not only everyday situations, but also with unforeseen and shocking events in the workplace, and how work gained significance for

¹ The term ‘constituents’ is used here in a non-reductionist sense as a placeholder for the aggregate of contexts, elements, and processes involved in the reconstruction of MW.

individuals, groups, and even society in the process. Also, the study provides clues on the role of third parties in MW reconstruction. Accordingly, MW was not only reconstructed in the social interaction between organizational members (e.g., colleagues, supervisors, subordinates), but also between these organizational members and their family members, friends, neighbors, and customers (e.g., newspaper readers, advertising clients), as well as other organizations, government agencies, and the media. Another insight gained within the scope of this study is that the cultural-cognitive dimension of societal institutions, enacted in social interaction, is at the very foundation of the social reconstruction of MW. Finally, the study shows the eminence of “The Social” in MW reconstruction. During the study participants reconstructed MW within and through “The Social” as an ultimate order that orientates employees, relying on collectives and their values. In summary, this study contributes an explicit comprehensive explanation of the nature of MW, from a constructionist perspective, which extant MW research tacitly neglects, or presumes as given.

The following paragraphs illustrate the perspectives used in extant MW research in more detail.

1.1.1 The Psychological Functionalist Perspective on MW

In organizational psychology the functionalist perspective presumes that psychological phenomena (e.g., mental states like MW) serve individuals to adapt to environmental challenges and opportunities with the purpose of need satisfaction (Maslow, 1954; Sites, 1973; Burton, 1990; Rubenstein, 2001; VandenBos, 2015). Against this background psychological phenomena are seen as objects that arise in the internal reality of individuals, as reactions to external forces, both of which can be analyzed with the help of the positivist research paradigm, mostly by means of quantitative methods, comparable to that used in the natural sciences (Gergen & Gergen, 2008; Samra-Fredericks, 2008). MW has been described in the organizational literature predominantly from the psychological functionalist point of view (Friedmann & Havighurst, 1954; Morse & Weiss, 1955; Barresi, 1974; Gottlieb, 1975; Hackman & Oldham, 1974, 1975, 1976; Vecchio, 1980; Benner, 1984; Brook & Brook,

1989; Jermier, Gaines & McIntosh, 1989; McCrae & John, 1992; Mor-Barak, 1995; Strong, 1998; Isaksen 2000; May, Gilson, & Harter, 2004; Wilkin & Slevin 2004; Secrest, Iorio & Martz, 2005; Johansson & Tham, 2006; Baldry et al., 2007; Borg, M., & Kristiansen, K., 2008; Kernes & Kinnier, 2008; Rasmussen & Elverdam, 2008; Leufstadius et al., 2009; Smith & Kinsella, 2009; Macintosh et al., 2010; Twenge, 2010; Clausen & Borg, 2011; Simpson, Richardson, & Zorn, 2012; Sluss, Ashforth & Gibson, 2012; Taylor, 2012; Tufte, Clausen, & Nabe-Nielsen, 2012; Araujo et al., 2013; Lilliehorn et al., 2013; Woods & Sofat, 2013). From this perspective MW is ontologically a phenomenon that is triggered by the perception of an objective external world (e.g., job characteristics), which is experienced in the individual's internal reality as a mental representation, resulting in a corresponding mental state (Hackman & Oldham, 1974, 1975, 1976). Epistemologically, MW is seen as something that can be identified and measured by positivist research methods, with the aim to "predict and control human behavior" (Gergen & Gergen, 2008).

1.1.2 The Sociological Functionalist Perspective on MW

In organizational sociology the functionalist perspective regards social phenomena (e.g., roles) as components of systems that regulate organizations for the purpose of practical problem-solving, and providing rational explanations and justifications of social affairs to organizational members (Parsons, 1951; Burrell & Morgan, 2017). From this perspective social phenomena are regarded as objects of an external reality that constrain the behavior of actors (Durkheim, 1938; Berger, 1963), and they are explored with positivist methods (Burrell & Morgan, 2017). Accordingly, MW has been investigated in the organizational literature from the functionalist sociological stance as a social phenomenon that can be employed for the regulation of organizations, i.e., a social control system, meaning that researchers tried to understand MW with the aim to find practical recipes for social engineering (Lieberman, 1956; Tausky, 1969; Yuchtman-Yaar & Gottlieb, 1985; Harpaz, 1986; MOW International Research Team, 1987; Grossman & Chester, 1990; Harpaz, 1990; Davidson & Cadell, 1994; Garrity-Blake, 1994; Claes & Quintanilla, 1994; Lundberg & Peterson, 1994; Major et al., 1994; Coetsier &

Whitely, 1995; Martin, Hess, & Siegel, 1995; Harpaz, Honig, & Coetsier, 2002; Altschuler, 2004; Hasan, 2004; D'Antonio, 2010; Harpaz & Meshoulam, 2010; Kuchinke et al., 2011; Zhou, Leung, & Li, 2012; Rioux & Pignault, 2013; Roberman, 2013; Tummers & Knies, 2013). From this perspective MW is ontologically a social phenomenon that is determined by social structures and their relationships, achieving regulative functions in social systems, embedded in an objective reality (Rosso et al., 2010; Burrell & Morgan, 2017). Epistemologically, MW and its antecedent conditions and constituting factors, as well as its impact, can be identified and measured with the methods of positivist research, with the aim of encouraging compliance in organizational followers (Burrell & Morgan, 2017).

1.1.3 The Constructionist Perspective on MW

In organizational sociology the constructionist perspective does not look at psychological or social phenomena as predictive or normative functions to keep a system in operation for a specific purpose, but rather focuses on understanding how meaning is created in the social world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Harris, 2008; Burrell & Morgan, 2017). Accordingly, the constructionist's question asks not for causality, e.g., what factors make up or cause MW, but rather: How do individuals construct MW in social interaction? The meaning of a phenomenon (e.g., work), and the intensity of its significance for the individual (e.g., MW), are not inherent, but are socially constructed (Berger, 1963; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1999; Harris, 2008). Institutions are not regarded as inevitably determining factors of reality, but actors draw on, maintain, and evolve them in the reconstruction of social reality (Berger, 1963; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Riessman, 1993; Gergen, 1999; Scott, 2014). Seen from the ontology of the constructionist perspective, social phenomena, like MW, are constructed through social interaction, reified over time, and interpreted by individuals as an experience of an objective social world, which is internalized as subjective reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Epistemologically, phenomena, like MW, can be investigated by interpreting its construction in social interaction (Burrell & Morgan, 2017).

The following section presents the research questions that have been formulated according to the constructionist perspective, which need to be answered in order to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of MW.

1.2 Research Questions

In light of the previous considerations it is the objective of this study to answer the following research questions:

RQ1) What do employees² consider to be MW?

RQ2) How is MW constructed?

RQ3) What is the nature of MW?

RQ1 aims at learning from employees what MW means to them in their own terms, and capturing the inter-subjective realities that are constructed in social interaction. RQ2 investigates the very construction of these realities. RQ3 is supposed to provide a deeper understanding of the nature of MW from a constructionist perspective.

1.3 Dissertation Structure

Following this introduction, section 2 provides a review of extant MW literature. Section 3 describes and justifies the methodology and research design used for this study. Section 4 presents the findings of this investigation, followed by section 5, consisting of a discussion of the findings. Section 6 offers a conclusion, comprised of a description of the contribution and limitations of the study, and impulses for future MW research. Section 7 consists of a list of the literature used in this work. Section 8 encloses five appendices.

² The term "employees" must here be understood in a non-generalizing manner, limited to the members of the organization that participated in this study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review was to learn about the insights of extant empirical, descriptive, and explanatory MW research. Accordingly, literature was considered relevant if it described and/or explained the phenomenon of MW relying on data based studies, and it was considered irrelevant if it was limited to conceptual essays, or the prescriptive application of MW concepts and its consequences (e.g., studies taking organizational functions of MW for granted and applying corresponding concepts to leadership problems, e.g., workplace enrichment). Within this scope of relevancy the primary databases for literature in the social sciences were explored between May and September 2014: SSCI® via the Web of Science™ Core Collection (Thomson Reuters), and JSTOR® (Ithaka). The search string was mainly composed of the primary terms meaning* and purpose* to capture the semantic essence of the search. The secondary terms career*, employ*, institution*, job*, lead*, mak*, manage*, organi?ation*, profession*, and work* were used as qualifiers to limit the search results to work-related studies. Primary and secondary search terms were then combined with an AND search conjugation in order to limit the results to MW literature. The "*" symbol served as a placeholder needed in the search string to find extensions of the search terms, e.g., meaning* could stand for meaningful, meaning-making, etc., and employ* could stand for employment, employer, employees, etc. The "?" symbol served as a placeholder to include English spelling variations of the search terms, accordingly, organi?ation stood for organization or organisation. Articles from peer-reviewed journals, books, and reviews in the English language were reviewed. Accordingly, the following search string was used:

Imports on language 'English' and Titles 'Meaning AND Career*, Meaning* AND Employ*, Meaning* AND Institution*, Meaning* AND Job*, Meaning* AND Lead*, Meaning* AND Mak*, Meaning* AND Manage*, Meaning* AND Organi?ation*, Meaning* AND Profession*, Meaning* AND Work*, Purpose* AND Career*, Purpose* AND Employ*, Purpose* AND Institution*, Purpose* AND Job*, Purpose* AND Lead*, Purpose* AND Mak*, Purpose* AND Manage*, Purpose* AND Organi?ation*, Purpose* AND Profession*, Purpose* AND Work*'*

In the next step a literature mapping was carried out according to PRISMA³ recommendations, i.e., identification, and screening (for an overview of the literature mapping process see 8.1 Literature Mapping).

Identification:

At this stage of the literature mapping duplicate texts were eliminated. Since the search provided an overwhelming number of potentially relevant texts (5,348 peer-reviewed articles, books, and book reviews), the researcher decided to automatize the identification process.

1. All studies retrieved from the databases mentioned above were uploaded to a reference management software (EPPI⁴ Reviewer 4).
2. Duplicates were excluded to a large extent automatically with the help of the EPPI software. Remaining duplicates were eliminated manually during the screening process by the researcher.

The automated process eliminated 848 duplicates, resulting in 4500 identified studies.

Screening:

The screening process was conducted manually by the researcher.

1. In the first step of the screening process the titles from all identified studies were read and irrelevant studies excluded (as described by the relevance criteria mentioned above), while relevant studies were marked as such and included for further screening.
 - a. Studies for which the title could not be evaluated unambiguously were preliminarily included in order to be subsequently screened by abstract.

The process resulted in the elimination of 3744 irrelevant titles, with 756 studies remaining for further screening.

2. The abstracts of all studies included as per step one of the screening process were then screened for relevance (as described by the

³ PRISMA: Preferred Reporting Items of Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses. <http://www.prisma-statement.org/>

⁴ The Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Coordinating Centre (EPPI-Centre) is part of the Social Science Research Unit at the Institute of Education, University of London. <http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms>

criteria mentioned above), and all irrelevant studies excluded.

- a. Studies for which the abstract could not be evaluated unambiguously were preliminarily included in order to be screened by full text subsequently.
- b. For studies relevant by abstract the corresponding full texts were obtained.
- c. Duplicates not automatically identified by the reference management software were manually excluded.
- d. Non-English studies were manually excluded.
- e. Publications other than peer reviewed journal articles, books, or reviews, were manually excluded.

The process resulted in the elimination of 420 studies. 321 studies were excluded by abstract, 44 were not peer-reviewed, for 4 studies no full text could be obtained, 2 were not written in English, and 49 were duplicates.

3. The full texts of the remaining 336 studies were read and scrutinized per the relevance criteria as described above, and all irrelevant texts were excluded. Accordingly:
 - a. Non-empirical studies were excluded.
 - b. Conceptual texts were excluded.
 - c. Prescriptive studies based on the application of extant MW concepts were excluded.

The process resulted in the elimination of 277 irrelevant studies. 59 studies were identified as relevant to empirical MW research.

2.1 Categorization

As mentioned in the introduction, earlier empirical MW researchers used three main perspectives for their work. Accordingly, the literature identified by this review was compiled into three categories, namely studies that describe and/or explain MW from the psychological functionalist perspective, from the sociological functionalist perspective, and from the constructionist perspective. Within those main categories subcategories were established to capture the different key aspects of the individual studies. The following three sections describe the literature identified in the corresponding categories.

2.2 MW Studies from the Psychological Functionalist Perspective

Extant literature used two main approaches to investigate the topic of MW from the psychological functionalist stance, presuming MW to be functional in environmental adaptation and the satisfaction of human needs: 1) Exploring the impact of factors that are based on the characteristics of the individual (e.g., personality), hereafter called "Individual Factors". 2) Exploring the impact of characteristics of the environment (e.g., work conditions), hereafter called "Context Factors". Accordingly, the following paragraphs describe the psychological functionalist literature identified in corresponding subcategories.

Individual Factor: Age

Career Starters

Gottlieb (1975) investigated the attitudes and work meanings of American youth before and after entering the workforce. He conducted a quantitative, longitudinal study over two years, with 1,800 graduating college seniors participating. He found that when participants were still at college they defined work as meaningful if it would satisfy the following needs: (a) if it was useful to society and of benefit to others, (b) if it would allow them to express individuality, and (c) if it would enhance individual growth. After one year of fulltime employment participants defined work as meaningful if it would provide job security and sufficient income, thus indicating a shift from altruistic and idealistic work meanings towards a more self-centered and pragmatic meaning of work.

Mid-Age

Benner (1984) found in her qualitative study, relying on unstructured interviews and questionnaires, that for her 23 mid-age participants (45 to 54 years of age) the meaning of work was a coping mechanism, a means of financial survival, a way to structure time, and a way to demonstrate one's abilities to the world. She also proposed that work perceived as meaningful reduces work-related stress. Twenge (2010) showed in her cross-generational meta-analysis on work attitudes that the meanings of work vary for participants from different generations (i.e., Silents, born before the mid

1940s; Boomers, born 1946-1964; GenX, born 1965-1981; GenMe/GenY/Millennials, born after 1981). She found that GenX and GenMe participants perceived work as less central (i.e., less important, less significant) to their lives than other generations, and that they tend to value leisure over work. The study showed no evidence for a variation in altruism as a dimension of MW across the mentioned generations.

Late Careers & Retirement

The fifties of the last century saw a couple of initial attempts to define the meaning of work in the sense of its significance for workers with regard to retirement. Friedmann & Havighurst (1954) were the first to investigate the subject of MW in their survey study *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*. In their quantitative work they found that the vast majority of the sample (consisting of 1,004 male skilled craftsmen, 55 years and over) stated meanings of work other than its being only a way of earning a living, but rather as a way of passing time, a source of self-respect, association with people, purpose in life, and that they would have liked to continue working past the age of sixty-five. These results were confirmed and further elaborated by Morse & Weiss (1955), who found in their quantitative survey study that 80% of participants (consisting of 401 male employees) would like to work at an advanced age, even if there was no economic necessity to do so. Work was meaningful to the participants if it avoided boredom, and if it allowed social contact and personal fulfillment. Barresi (1974) investigated 23 elderly poor also by means of a quantitative survey study. He put the earlier findings from Friedmann & Havighurst and Morse & Weiss into perspective by indicating that it depended very much on the economic conditions of the participants, and not so much on their age, whether they valued extrinsic rather than intrinsic rewards as a result from work. Vecchio (1980) conducted a follow-up investigation of Morse & Weiss (1955). He argued that many years had passed since their original work, and that cultural values in Euro-American society had changed, and that it was time to evaluate whether the original findings could be confirmed. He surveyed 1,099 full-time male workers with a demography that was representative of the full-time adult male labor force at the time. They found a significant difference (72% instead of 80% compared

with the original study) in the predisposition of the labor force to continue working even without an economical need. They concluded that a corresponding attitudinal shift had occurred over the 20-year period separating the two studies. Mor-Barak (1995) researched quantitatively, with the help of surveys, the meaning of work for 146 older adult job seekers (age 50 or older). He found that his participants experienced it as meaningful to transfer work knowledge and experience to younger colleagues. Simpson, Richardson, & Zorn (2012) qualitatively investigated 30 older employees, with semi-structured interviews, who engaged in “encore careers” (i.e., age 55+ employees that engage in paid employment). They found that in female working class participants and in older men (age 65 plus) who did not have an economic necessity to work, perceived their work as meaningful, and defined MW as a possibility to “make a difference”, and to “give something back.”

Individual Factor: Gender

In her qualitative study Grossman & Chester (1990) found that, besides satisfying the need for structure, mastering, and self-esteem, women saw work that satisfied their need for interpersonal relationships as most meaningful. In her qualitative work with 53 women Altschuler (2004) found that the meaning of work among the participating women was defined by independence from men, being responded to as a mother, and altruistic activities.

Individual Factor: Personality

In a quantitative study Woods & Sofat (2013) surveyed 238 employees in office environments, looking for evidence of a set of hypotheses that proposed a correlation between personality traits (i.e., the Five-Factor model of personality (McCrae & John, 1992)) and work engagement. They found that assertiveness and industriousness were the strongest predictors of work engagement, and that the relationship between the two was mediated by psychological meaningfulness, in other words, by the perception that work was meaningful.

Individual Factor: Health

In her ethnographic study Strong (1998) conducted a participant observation over 15 months, working alongside 35 persons with psychiatric disabilities employed at an affirmative business called HARP⁵ Ceramics and Gifts Inc., in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. She also collected and analyzed ten in-depth interviews. She found that the meaning of work revolved around the process of recovery. Work was meaningful if it supported the establishment of a non-illness related identity in the process. In a qualitative study Johansson & Tham (2006) interviewed ten patients with acquired brain injury, who were of working age and admitted to a rehab facility in Sweden. The participants reported that the perceived meaning of work had changed in comparison with the time before injury. Returning to work had the meaning of normality for the interviewees. Also, social relationships had become more important since their injury. Borg & Kristiansen (2008) did a qualitative study in which they interviewed 13 individuals with histories of severe mental distress in Norway. They found that for these individuals work was meaningful if it satisfied their need for belonging and identity as active members of society, instead of being a patient. Rasmussen & Elverdam (2008) investigated the meaning of work after cancer in a qualitative study. They engaged in participant observation for nine weeks in a cancer rehabilitation center in Denmark, and collected 23 interviews from cancer survivors. They found that work was meaningful because it allowed establishing a normal existence, identity, and social relations with others. Leufstadius, Eklund, & Erlandsson (2009) investigated qualitatively how a number of Swedish employees with persistent mental illnesses (schizophrenia, Asperger's, bipolar disorder, and depression) experienced and described the meaningfulness of work. The researchers interviewed 12 informants. They found that for the interviewees meaningfulness of work consisted of different aspects that interacted as a system. In this system remuneration would enable the interviewees to afford leisure activities, which would in turn facilitate socializing with friends, resulting in corresponding situational identities and the achievement of

⁵ HARP stands for: Helping and Rehabilitating People. Affirmative businesses are supported by the Canadian government as part of its Mental Health Reform (Trainor, Pomeroy, Pape, 1993).

normality (normality as the ability to comply with social norms), which was cherished by the interviewees. Lilliehorn et al. (2013) conducted a qualitative longitudinal study on the meaning of work for 56 Swedish women who returned to work after breast cancer. For these women the meaning of work varied over time in that in the beginning of their illness work lost its centrality, while it regained centrality over time. The experience of structure and normalcy when returning to work was reported as meaningful, while competitiveness lost significance. In general work was seen as important for the healing process and as a means to reconstitute order in life.

Contextual Factor: Job Characteristics

In their seminal quantitative work on job design, Hackman & Oldham (1974, 1975, 1976) surveyed 658 employees. They found that certain antecedent conditions (i.e., skill variety, task identity, task significance, feedback, and autonomy) triggered a mental state of meaningfulness in the employee's mind, resulting in internal motivation and satisfaction at work. Accordingly, they suggested that jobs could be redesigned or enriched to include the antecedent conditions with the aim to increase work engagement of employees. In their quantitative study of the meaning of dangerous work Jermier, Gaines & McIntosh (1989) conducted interviews and a survey among 183 police officers and their support personnel in a U.S. city with the fourth highest crime rate per capita in the United States. They found that street patrol officers, the occupational group with the highest risk for physical danger, experienced their job as the most meaningful. The more dangerous the work, the more task variety, task significance, and feedback it was perceived to have, instilling the highest state of meaningfulness. In their quantitative study Brook & Brook (1989) investigated with the help of questionnaires the meaning of work and the meaning of non-work. They found that work and non-work are complementary in their satisfaction of the need for mastery and recognition as dimensions of the meaning of work, and meaning in life. They concluded that the identification of the sources of satisfaction was important in order to understand and predict the needs and behavior of employees. In his qualitative case study Isaksen (2000) investigated the meaning of highly repetitive work analyzing thirty in-depth interviews collected

from workers in a catering company located near Copenhagen, Denmark. The workers were engaged in the preparation of cold dishes, packing cutlery, tray-setting, packing trolleys, and dishwashing. He found that 75% of the interviewees found their work meaningful in spite of the repetitive work characteristics. In their quantitative study May, Gilson, & Harter (2004), in which they surveyed 213 employees in an insurance company, confirmed Hackman and Oldham's job design theory, finding that job enrichment (i.e., providing skill variety, task identity, task significance, feedback, and autonomy) contributed significantly to the meaningfulness of the job, and increased job engagement as a result. Baldry et al. (2007) also confirmed Oldham & Hackman's findings in their quantitative surveying of 1183 call center employees and software engineers in Scotland. They found that for the participants the meaningfulness of work increased with job enrichment, e.g., in the form of job autonomy. In their qualitative work MacIntosh et al. (2010) investigated the effects of workplace bullying on the meaning of work. They found that the 21 participants in the study experienced a loss of the meaning of work, and that they dealt with this shift in a three-stage process. In the first stage they developed the insight that the reasons for their changed perception of work was instilled by external forces. The second stage was marked by resisting and confronting the causes. In the final stage they tried to adapt and modify their approaches to work and rebuilt their definition of the meaning of work, even if that meant that they had to change employment. Clausen & Borg (2011) conducted a quantitative study with the help of questionnaires answered by 6,299 employees in the eldercare services in 35 Danish municipalities. The survey showed that demanding medium and high levels of work pace could be considered as occupational challenges by employees and may therefore motivate them to a larger extent than lower levels of work pace, resulting in an increased experience of meaning at work. The study also claimed that role ambiguity, and therewith role conflict, predicted a decreased experience of meaning at work. Sluss, Ashforth & Gibson (2012) investigated quantitatively the association between task significance and the meaningfulness of work for work newcomers. In their survey of 146 students from a large state university in the southwestern United States they found that self-efficacy conditioned task significance as an enactment of MW.

Contextual Factor: Professions

In their qualitative investigation of the nature of work in Intensive Care Units (ICUs) Wilkin & Slevin (2004) collected semi-structured interviews from twelve nurses working in ICUs in the UK. In their study they presumed that caring represented an essential human need, which could be satisfied by nursing. They found that nursing was meaningful when it combined empathy for the patients and their significant others with professional knowledge and skills. Secrest, Iorio & Martz (2005) conducted a qualitative investigation into the meaning of work for nursing assistants who staid in long-term care in spite of meager pay and poor working conditions. In-depth interviews were collected from eleven nursing assistants working in the United States, who had a history of staying in the profession although turnover rates varied from 40 to 400% (unfortunately the study never defined what "staying" meant in terms of absolute time units). They found that nursing assistants considered work as meaningful when it satisfied their need for belonging, respect, and control. Kernes & Kinnier (2008) conducted a quantitative analysis of psychologists' perception of the meaning of work. 175 practicing psychologists took part in the survey. The majority of them reported that the most meaningful aspect of their profession was the opportunity to help others live satisfying lives. Smith & Kinsella (2009) investigated in a qualitative study what makes work meaningful for pediatric occupational therapists. The interpretive analysis of eight in-depth interviews showed that the interviewees identified (1) the opportunity to play, (2) contributing to the potential of children, and (3) workplace support, including positive experiences of teamwork as meaningful dimensions of their work. Taylor (2012) investigated in a qualitative study the meaning of work in the context of creative work. Within the years 2005 and 2007 interviews from 86 London art college students and graduates were collected and analyzed. The study showed that the association of creative work with traditional concepts of the arts shaped the meaning of such work for the interviewees. Accordingly, the boundaries between work and non-work were blurry, and workers were hoping for an extraordinary future success at an uncertain time. Work was meaningful for these interviewees if it would cater to aspirations of potential grand breakthroughs. Tufte, Clausen, & Nabe-Nielsen (2012) investigated the association of client-related work tasks and

the meaning of work experienced by eldercare workers. 3,985 female eldercare workers were surveyed in Denmark. The study found that eldercare workers who had time to talk and socialize with their clients experienced significantly more meaningfulness at work. Araujo et al. (2013) investigated qualitatively the meaning of work for professionals in a mental health care center in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. They analyzed interviews from thirteen professionals. They found that work was meaningful for these professionals if it allowed them to socially integrate individuals with mental disorders and helping them achieve autonomy, therewith satisfying their strong need for belonging.

2.3 MW Studies from the Sociological Functionalist Perspective

Extant studies from the sociological functionalist stance investigated the topic of MW by looking at societal and organizational structures and their relationships, and how these imply MW as a means of problem-solving and the rationalization of social phenomena for employees in organizations. The following paragraphs describe the sociological functionalist literature in corresponding subcategories.

Class

Tausky (1969) interpreted data collected from a representative national sample of blue-collar males in the USA. 267 interviews were analyzed. The study showed that less educated workers saw work as more instrumental for economic reasons than educated workers. Work was meaningful for these interviewees if it enabled them to consume goods. In her ethnography Garrity-Blake (1994) investigated the American menhaden fish industry in Virginia and North Carolina. She found that class, as determined by race, shaped the meaning of work for the staff of fishing boats. For white captains and officers work was mainly a means to define their identity as "men of the water", which they would inherit to the next generation. In contrast, for black crewmembers work was a means to provide for their families. Many would save schooling money for their offspring in hope that they would not have to follow in their footsteps.

Gender

Martin, Hess, & Siegel (1995) quantitatively analyzed the effects of gender on the public's interpretation of the meaning of work. Based on a survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau (with a sample size of 60,000) they concluded that whether certain activities were interpreted as work depended on the gender of the person engaged in the activity, or on the gender of the person interpreting the situation. E.g., men were more likely than women to classify casual labor for a few hours as work. In her historic study of the nursing profession in the United States D'Antonio (2010) investigated archival sources from across the USA from the years 1890 to 2006. She found that the nursing profession had been a means of empowerment for women. Nursing was meaningful because it instilled identity, a sense of being respected, and control in American women.

Modes of Entry

In a cluster analysis Claes & Quintanilla (1994) investigated 1,358 career starters from seven European countries on the effects that different modes of entry to the working world would have on the meaning of work. They found that the pattern of work socialization was correlated with the significance of work (i.e., work centrality) reported by participants. A smooth transition from school to full-time work resulted in high work centrality, while military or civil service and periods of unemployment correlated with a low work centrality among participants.

Place

Rioux & Pignault (2013) investigated in a mixed method study the effect of place on the meaning of work. They collected ten semi-structured interviews and surveyed 158 teachers who worked in a secondary school in the Paris region in France. The study distinguished between (1) informal communication areas, consisting of staffroom, canteen, and corridor, (2) places for managing stress, comprising administrative offices, photocopying corner, and medical room, and (3) places perceived as constituting the essence of work, i.e., classrooms and resource rooms. They found that classrooms had the highest rate of meaning, while the photocopying corner

had the lowest. Other place comparisons were insignificant in terms of meaningfulness.

National Values

Multinational studies

A significant project in terms of the number of participants and impact on subsequent MW research was conducted by the so-called MOW International Research Team (1987). The group investigated the meaning of work in eight countries (Belgium, Great-Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, U.S.A., and Yugoslavia), collecting and analyzing interviews from some 15,000 individuals during the years 1981 to 1982. The study identified five key dimensions of the meaning of work, which were: (1) work centrality (i.e., the significance of work activities compared to activities in other life spheres like family, religion, leisure, and community), (2) work commitment (i.e., employees would work even if they would financially be able to do without it), (3) reward preferences (i.e., employees preferred intrinsic or extrinsic rewards), (4) work identifications (i.e., task, product, professional, company, or societal identification), and (5) societal norms of working (i.e., relying on the principles that individuals used in their normative reasoning as members of a society, subject to principles of social justice and fairness in the sense that they were obliged to make fair contributions to the survival and wealth of their society. On the other hand the individual could also expect a fair compensation for his contributions to society.) No significant differences related to MW were found based on gender or age. Japan ranked highest in work centrality. U.S. respondents regarded work more as an obligation, and less as an entitlement. Otherwise the study provided the insight that there was substantial agreement on the meaning of work across the participating countries over the mentioned five dimensions, making up the constitutive components of MW. Lundberg & Peterson (1994) based their investigation on survey data collected from U.S. and Japanese local governments. They collected a total of 694 questionnaires, which were based on three dimensions: work centrality, valued work goals, and societal norms about working. They found that differences in work centrality were based on country, not on organization or region within the two countries. Differences in work

goals were most frequently related to country (55%), and second to region (36%). Differences in societal norms about working were also largely identified as a function of country (70%). Harpaz, Honig, & Coetsier (2002) investigated young career starters from seven different countries in their transition into the world of work. They found that participants from countries with low degrees of uncertainty avoidance experienced work as more meaningful in their lives. Kuchinke et al. (2011) surveyed 1,542 mid-level professional employees in eight countries (Brazil, Hungary, Germany, Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Poland, Russia, USA). As a MW indicator they detected relatively high work centrality in all these countries (ranging from 5.1 to 5.8 on a 7-point Likert scale). Work was only second to family as the most significant domain in life. They also found that lower work centrality and lower emphasis on financial rewards are associated with a humane orientation.

National Studies

In 1981 Harpaz (1986, 1990) analyzed 1,869 structured interviews from a national sample of workers and from ten target groups in Israel (chemical engineers, self-employed, teachers, clerical workers, textile workers, tool makers, white-collars, students, the unemployed, and the retired). His works resulted in the identification of six domains of work meanings: (1) work centrality: work had been found to be of average importance relative to other areas of life in Israel; (2) societal norms about working: e.g., "it is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to contribute to society by working"; (3) valued work outcomes (i.e., outcomes the individual sought to obtain through working): e.g., "working gives you status"; (4) importance of work goals (i.e., relative importance to the individual of various aspects of working): e.g., "interesting work"; (5) nonwork-related spheres (i.e., importance of family, leisure, religion, and community; and (6) work role identification (i.e., importance of individuals' organizational roles). Major et al. (1994) investigated in a quantitative study whether Canadian Anglophone and Francophone public sector middle-managers had similar orientations toward the meaning of work with regard to individualism and collectivism. 342 surveys were analyzed. Extant research conducted on the basis of general public samples at the time showed significant individualistic orientation for Anglophones and collectivist

orientations for Francophones. Extrapolating from these former studies the researchers formulated their hypotheses for middle-managers accordingly. The findings of this study however showed that the two ethnolinguistic groups were actually very similar in their individualist-collectivist orientation towards work meaning. The authors suggested that a plausible explanation for not finding supporting evidence for their hypothesis was that past studies tended not to control for the socio-economic status of the respondents. Hasan (2004) analyzed 340 questionnaires collected from a sample of Kuwaiti subjects working in various occupations in the public sector. He found that for Kuwaitis work was meaningful if it provided beneficial work outcomes (extrinsic and intrinsic rewards). Work centrality was rated as secondary. Harpaz & Meshoulam (2010) compared the data collected by Harpaz (1986, 1990) in the year 1981, with repeated data collections of the years 1993, and 2006 (the same questionnaire was used for the three samples, allowing for a comparison). They found that work centrality increased moderately during the observed time span, and that there was a shift from a formerly collectivistic towards a more individualistic meaning of work for Israeli workers: individual benefits outweighed contributions to society. Zhou, Leung, & Li (2012) investigated the meaning of work quantitatively with regard to its instrumentality for career development, under consideration of national value preferences. For this purpose they surveyed 166 university students. They found that for Chinese university students work was a process full of hardship, but that they needed to stay optimistic and had to use their positive qualities to reach desirable outcomes. Work was meaningful to these participants if it allowed for self-actualization, the sustaining of one's family, and repay for parental nurturance. Roberman (2013) investigated the meaning of work for Jewish immigrants who relocated from the former Soviet Union to Germany. 40 in-depth interviews were collected and interpreted. The study showed that the interviewees encountered constraints in finding access to the full-time employment market. As a result they were pushed into non-standard forms of occupation like self-employment, part-time and temporary work, volunteering, and community service. This marginalization led to a loss of meaningfulness of work in the perception of the immigrants in terms of their inability to establish identity, status, and self-worth.

Religion

Davidson & Cadell (1994) investigated the influence of Christian religions on the meaning of work. In their quantitative study they surveyed 1,869 members of Protestant and Catholic congregations in Indiana, USA. They found that 15% of the participants considered work to have religious significance, regarding it as a calling rather than a career or a job. However, the degree to which work had the meaning of a calling did not depend on congregational affiliation, but rather on the participants' degree of religious commitment.

Roles

Coetsier & Whitely (1995) based their quantitative study on survey data drawn from the MOW International Research Team database mentioned above (MOW International Research Team, 1987). They investigated the relationship between hierarchical position (i.e., managers, supervisors, rank & file workers) and the meaning of working in six countries (sample sizes are mentioned in parentheses): Belgium (447), England (794), Israel (945), the Netherlands (982), Japan (1002), and the United States (1000). The study also adopted the key dimensions of the meaning of work as identified by the MOW International Research Team (1987), i.e., work centrality, work commitment, reward preferences, work identifications, and societal norms of working. The study found that across the countries managers had higher work centrality, a much higher non-financial commitment to work, and stronger company identification than workers. Supervisors had higher work centrality than workers, preferred intrinsic over extrinsic rewards, and identified with the societal contribution role of work. However, the study revealed only a few significant differences between the selected nations. The differences between managers and supervisors were small in Japan, but more significant in the United States and the Netherlands. The authors explained the small differences with the intense organizational socialization processes that are common for permanent employees in Japan: the meaning of work was correspondingly homogenous between the hierarchical levels. The authors explained the wider differences between managers and supervisors in the Netherlands and the United States quoting a study (Lieberman, 1956) that identified a comparably higher flexibility in labor practices: a significant

number of supervisors experienced role reversal in these countries, meaning that they could be demoted to the worker status, resulting in a larger social distance between managers and supervisors. Tummers & Knies (2013) investigated the impact of leadership on the meaningfulness of work in the public sector with the help of a survey conducted in the Netherlands. 790 questionnaires were collected from midwives, 229 from municipal government employees, and 313 from university employees. The study showed that the meaningfulness of work varied for the members of these sectors. In healthcare and in education a good relationship between supervisor and employee would increase the latter's experience of the meaningfulness of their work, and such meaningfulness functioned as a mediator for positive work outcomes. In local governments MW did not play a significant role across hierarchies and its mediating role for outcomes was not observed.

Technology

Yuchtman-Yaar & Gottlieb (1985) investigated quantitatively the impact of technology on the meaning of work in five industrialized nations (Germany, Sweden, Israel, U.S.A., and Japan). They surveyed 5,957 individuals in representative national samples drawn in all five countries. Against their expectations they found that, with the exception of Japan, technological change was perceived to contribute positively to the meaningfulness of work in that jobs became more responsible, more interesting, less physically strenuous, and cleaner for the respondents. However, Japanese respondents regarded technological change as psychologically burdensome and making the job more difficult.

2.4 MW Studies from the Constructionist Perspective

Psychological and sociological accounts of different factors influencing or even determining the perception or rationalization of actors are objectivist representations of an external world, internalized and experienced in the individual's mind (Berger, 1963; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1999; Harris, 2008). However, in order to understand its social construction, we must rather investigate MW by looking at how employees use the concepts mentioned above, e.g., "age" and "gender", as taken for granted categories,

by which we understand and organize the world around us and thereby create our subjective reality (Nikander, 2008). The following literature describes studies of constructionist authors in capturing such construction.

Construction by Interpersonal Sensemaking

Wrzesniewski, Dutton, and Debebe (2003) collected and interpreted in-depth interviews from 29 cleaners from a large U.S. Midwestern hospital. They found that coworkers' and patients' actions and gestures were interpreted by the cleaners in terms of affirmations (i.e., appreciation for the job of the cleaner) or disaffirmations (i.e., rejection and even disgust for the job of the cleaner), according to which the cleaners would decide whether to engage in further interaction with their counterparts. Also, the cleaners would derive a positive meaning of their work from affirmations (e.g., feeling valued by patients who appreciate the cleaner's job), and negative meaning of work from disaffirmations (e.g., feeling rejected by coworkers who depreciate the cleaner's job).

Construction by Group Interaction

Serdukov (2012) investigated the role of group interaction in the construction of the meaning of work. She conducted a longitudinal study over thirteen years, observing twelve owners/managers in a transition economy (i.e., the transition from a planned to a market economy in Kazakhstan). She found that social interaction kept individuals' representations of reality in line with the context, and thereby ensured the relevance of their actions. Work was meaningful if it made sense and if it was constructed in social interaction.

This concludes the literature review of extant empirical MW research. The review illustrates the dominance of the functionalist paradigm, which the vast majority of authors relied on in their contributions to the empirical investigation of MW. Only two out of fifty-nine texts deviated from the mainstream in that their authors took a constructionist perspective. However, these two studies are limited to the investigation of the roles of affirmations and context in MW construction. The present study intends to investigate the construction and

nature of MW in a more comprehensive way. In order to achieve the latter, the following chapter discusses the methodology selected for this study.

3 METHODOLOGY

Researchers are supposed to apply methods that are suited to investigate a given research question under consideration of a chosen epistemological paradigm (Kuhn, 1970; Janesick, 2000; Kieser, 2006). As the literature review of this study shows, extant MW research has mainly been investigated from a functionalist perspective with quantitative and qualitative methods under a positivist paradigm. In the following paragraphs it will be discussed why the interpretive paradigm, the constructionist perspective, and the methods for data collection and analysis that were selected for this study, are more suitable to address the research questions.

Quantitative methods are poorly suited for constructionist MW research for reasons of validity. Social reality is constituted by human beings, not things. Although constrained by environmental factors, human beings do reflect and do have agency, while things do not (Berger, 1963; Taylor & Lindlof, 2002; Bryman, 2008). Also, a survey that asks employees to give a Likert scale measured assessment of MW could have extremely flawed results, because the employees might be partially or completely unconscious of the phenomenon. Structured interviews could miss to ask about a specific manifestation of MW as experienced by a particular employee at all, thus not measuring what it is supposed to measure. Other settings presume that the characteristics of the phenomena under investigation are at least known to the researcher, which might not be the case in the research matter on hand. Overall, Dilthey's statement stands: we explain nature; man we must understand (Dilthey, 1961).

Qualitative methods that aim to identify or interpret categories, components, or factors that are considered as given in the social world also disqualify for constructionist MW research, because such concepts do not have inherent meanings, their meaning is rather socially constructed (Taylor & Lindlof, 2002; Harris, 2008). E.g., a researcher who labels emergent data according to predefined frameworks of evaluation would presume that meaning is inherent in the data, and that such meaning has to be "uncovered". In other words,

such a researcher regards her definitions of the world as given facts, instead of investigating how categories and concepts come into being in the first place (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). Accordingly, researchers investigating MW must make sure to interpret the phenomenon from the participants' subjective points of view, rather than seeing MW through a lens of predefined scholarly concepts. The latter can be achieved with non-positivist, interpretivist qualitative methods that do leave room for subjective interpretations of the studied phenomena (Tracy, 2013). However, in order to analyze the multifaceted phenomenon of MW in its entirety, a number of analytical methods are required, which will be described in the following paragraph.

Discourse Analysis (DA) is an interpretivist research methodology that considers the requirements of constructionist research: Whereas other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, DA endeavors to uncover the way in which it is produced. It examines how language constructs phenomena, not how it reflects and reveals it; it explains the relationship between text, discourse, and context; it investigates how concepts and categories come about in social interaction (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips et al., 2008; Gee, 2014a; Gee, 2015). DA researchers utilize qualitative methods in dependence of the research questions and practical constraints; however, they apply such methods from the constructionist perspective (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This research project had a practical constraint in the form of the organization's request to keep the study's impact on the organization's operations to a minimum. Eventually, the researcher was able to negotiate a maximum of thirty in-depth interviews. Other approaches that would have been more disruptive or time consuming for the organization were ruled out. In the beginning of the data collection open questions were offered as invitations to interviewees to freely engage in storytelling about MW. However, the interviewees were not always able or willing to address the topic of MW in their responses to the open questions. Hence, semi-structured questions were necessary to encourage and orient interviewees towards the subject of MW, elucidating it from different angles. Nevertheless, the corresponding interview guide consisted of variations of

basically one main theme, namely "What is MW?" (see 8.2 Interview Guide). What was apparent from the beginning of the data collection was that interviewees' responses were often given in portions of text larger than single sentences (e.g., narratives and stories), the sense of which became apparent only by looking at the entire text, or larger sequences thereof. Under such circumstances a subcategory of DA was selected as the most adequate method of data analysis, namely Narrative Analysis. In its constructionist application Narrative Analysis looks at the ways meaning is created by social actors telling stories drawing on linguistic and cultural resources in social interaction (Riessman, 1993; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Telling stories is a form of social interaction (Sparkes & Smith, 2008), and Narrative Analysis takes such stories as its objects of investigation and "language is understood as deeply constitutive of reality, not simply a technical device for establishing meaning" (Riessman, 1993). Narrative Analysis provides three elements of analysis, i.e., (1) formal elements (e.g., idea units (lexical utterances that contain a piece of new information; they end with pitch glides, i.e., distinctive changes in intonation, which communicate completeness to the listener), lines (consisting of one or more idea units, which are topically related), stanzas (consisting of two or more lines, which are topically related), strophes (groups of thematically coherent stanzas), and chapters (consisting of conceptually related strophes)), (2) structural elements (e.g., evaluation of events), as well as (3) conventional elements (e.g., determination of genres) (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Gee, 1986, 2015). With such elements storytellers organize their stories, make sense of events, and persuade the listener of their viewpoints, thereby constructing meaning. However, they do not do so in a vacuum, but rather as members of their society, drawing from cultural resources, e.g., shared understandings and beliefs, which they internalize during their lifetime, in other words, institutions (Berger, 1967; Ferraro & Briody, 2017). Accordingly, the researcher also decided to apply institutional analysis with its framework of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive institutions and their carriers (Scott, 2014). Finally, again during data collection, it became obvious to the researcher that the nonverbal dimension, as a crucial element of the interaction between storyteller and researcher would also need to be analyzed. Accordingly, gaze, and other nonverbal

interaction would be accounted for as an analytical element of Discursive Constructionism as suggested by Potter & Hepburn (2008).

The following table (see Figure 1) gives an overview on the methods selected for this study.

SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY					
APPROACH	PARADIGM	PERSPECTIVE	DATA ANALYSIS	UNITS OF ANALYSIS	DATA COLLECTION
Qualitative	Interpretive	Constructionist	Discourse Analysis Narrative Analysis Institutional Analysis Discursive Constructionism	Language in Context Stories & Narratives, Institutions Nonverbal Interaction	Interviews based on open and semi-structured questions

Figure 1 - Summary of Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The following sections describe the different dimensions of the research design determined for this study under consideration of the selected methodology.

3.1.1 Case Studies

Case studies are advisable in research when contextual conditions need to be considered that are relevant to the investigated phenomenon (Stake, 1995; George et al., 2004; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). The phenomenon of MW could not be understood outside its context, which is the working place. For example, without contextual knowledge relating to the work of an employee in a specific profession, i.e., its assumptions and expectations, it would be impossible to interpret the subjective MW construction of a professional in any reliable way. Further, with the selection of one particular organization instead of a sample of employees of many organizations the given context was limited and therewith coherent, comprehensible, and interpretable. Accordingly, although the organization as such was not the primary focus of this study, a case study was chosen as the overarching research design of this study.

3.1.2 Sampling of the Organization

As mentioned above, the investigation of MW requires the interpretation of phenomena in interaction and context. Accordingly, the researcher sampled a

German newspaper publishing house due to his 15-year professional background in the German newspaper industry. Specifically, he was exposed to the selected organization and its personnel as a vendor when the organization purchased a new editorial production system in the year 2010. Correspondingly, the researcher was already acquainted to the organization's national, industrial and operational context. Also, in qualitative research of organizational phenomena it makes sense to select enterprises from industries that are subject to vivid change, because in such organizations social phenomena emerge more frequently and more distinctly than in less changing environments (Eisenhardt, 1989), and MW is a social phenomenon that in general occurs in organizations. Hence, it is expedient to explore MW in an organization that allows for a rich and diverse context, thus fostering the investigation of the research questions.

The newspaper industry has been, mostly due to fierce competition from the rapidly growing Internet advertising industry, without doubt in a constant state of change since the year 2000, even to the extent that its very existence has been jeopardized, and is therefore believed to be an appropriate choice for this case study in terms of contextual dynamics (Brüggemann et al., 2012; Pasquay, 2010). Further, a newspaper publishing house was believed to harbor a rich set of MW constructs, due to its constitutional mandate, which adds an institutional aspect to the context in which its employees have to engage in, which is often not present in other private industries (Graber & Dunaway, 2017). Accordingly, the following newspaper organization was selected to provide a rich and dynamic context, as well as a comprehensive spectrum of MW constructs.

Aachener Zeitung is the direct successor of Aachener Volkszeitung, which received the first newspaper publishing license in West Germany after the Second World War on March 6, 1946. Its political orientation is conservative. Over time the newspaper evolved into Medienhaus Aachen (Medienhaus), a vertically integrated, privately owned corporation with an annual turnover of about sixty million Euros. Medienhaus counts about 300 core staff members, but also employs more than 2,000 newspaper deliverers. It operates in the

Aachen region, within the district of Cologne, in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. The operational region borders on Belgium in the Southeast, and the Netherlands in the Northwest. The region spans an area of 2,621sqkm, and is home to 1.2 million inhabitants. There is no other regional newspaper competitor in the area. The corporation consists of the following entities, which are all fully owned by Medienhaus: ZVA Zeitungsverlag Aachen GmbH (daily newspaper publishing); SuperSonntag Verlag GmbH (weekly newspaper publishing); ZVA Digital (Internet publishing); Euregio Messen GmbH (trade show hosting); Euregio Druck GmbH (newspaper and job printing); Euregio MH Boten GmbH (parcel service). ZVA Zeitungsverlag Aachen GmbH is the flagship of Medienhaus. It publishes two daily newspapers, namely Aachener Zeitung and Aachener Nachrichten. The total distribution of the daily newspapers is around 130,000 copies per day. SuperSonntag Verlag GmbH produces two free advertising papers, published on a weekly basis, SUPER Sonntag and SUPER Mittwoch. The two weeklies have a distribution of approximately 494,000 copies per week. ZVA Digital GmbH hosts the papers' Internet portal. The workforce consists of a team of experts in the fields of newsroom, programming, network-technology, multimedia, business development, and marketing. EUREGIO Messen GmbH organizes professional tradeshowes. Euregio Druck GmbH runs the printing plant of Medienhaus. Two printing presses make sure that the daily newspaper in its 17 local editions, and the two weekly newspapers in their 12 local editions, are produced within distributional, timely, and qualitative norms.

3.1.3 Sampling of Interviewees

The interviewees were chosen from different hierarchical levels and functions, in order to allow for the identification and investigation of a comprehensive range of MW constructs, which could differ according to the status and occupations of the individuals. It is conceivable that members from diverse hierarchical levels and functions use different ways of constructing MW, e.g., drawing from differing educational or social backgrounds. Hence, members from various hierarchical levels and functional areas were interviewed in order to reveal any possible variance over these dimensions within the selected

organization in relation to the research questions. Although the researcher had no decision-making power over the actual selection of individual interviewees, the following interviewee distribution was received from the contact person at Medienhaus, in which the researcher's request for diversity over the dimensions mentioned above was considered as much as possible under the given operational circumstances. Over the dimension of hierarchy 2 interviewees were executives (one with university education, one with vocational training), 12 were middle managers (nine with university education, two with vocational training, one with a secondary school degree), 2 were supervisors (one with university education, one with vocational training), and 14 interviewees were of rank and file (six with university education, seven with vocational training, one with a secondary school degree). Over the dimension of function 8 interviewees were members of the administrative department, 8 from the newsroom, 9 from advertising, and 5 from the IT department. 11 employees participating in the interviews were female, 19 male. The latter reflects the gender ratio currently employed at Medienhaus. 16 interviewees worked for ZVA, 8 for SuperSonntag Verlag, 4 were employed at ZVA Digital, and 2 employees worked for Euregio Druck. The cultural background of 28 interviewees was German, one interviewee had paternal Sudanese and maternal German cultural roots, one interviewee had a Baltic background. The age of the interviewees was in the range from 22 to 60. The researcher agreed initially with his contact at Medienhaus to a maximum of only 25 interviews to be collected in order to keep disruptions in the operation of the organization to a minimum. However, after 25 interviews the interaction between researcher and interviewees gave no distinct evidence of the redundancy of phenomena. In consequence, the number of interviewees was renegotiated with the organization and increased to a total of 30, which was considered to provide more robustness to the study. However, no new phenomena emerged during the additional interviews. Accordingly, the final number of interviews in this study was orientated towards a robust, but not redundant database, as much as possible under the given organizational constraints.

3.1.4 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted during the years 2015 and 2016. A preliminary set of interview questions was tested among 60 business students at Utah Valley University, the researcher's workplace. During fieldwork the researcher was allocated a Medienhaus employee from middle management as main contact and coordinator. The coordinator invited potential interviewees on a voluntary basis. Interviewees were provided with an interview guide and information about scope and purpose of the study prior to the interviews. All interviews were conducted by the researcher, who was also free to deviate from the interview guide whenever deemed beneficial for the purposes of the study. For the interviewees the interviews took place at a dedicated room in the main building of Medienhaus headquarters in Aachen, Germany. The interviewer-interviewee interaction happened via Skype technology. The researcher conducted the interviews from his home office in Spanish Fork, USA. Between the interviewees and the interviewer was an eight-hour time difference. Accordingly, the time frame for the interviewer to conduct the interviews was in his early morning hours, while the interviewees attended in their afternoon hours. In total 30 interviews were collected, resulting in some 24 hours of recording time. The average interview duration was 48 minutes. 29 of 30 interviews were recorded electronically as video files. In one instance video recording failed and the researcher had to defer to audio recording. In addition, the researcher sent out follow-up questions to particular interviewees after the interviews, in order to better understand their ways of socialization. All interview recordings were transcribed verbatim by the author. All organizational stories were captured in an nVivo® database, including serial number, author, and full text. The researcher also collected all 2015 company newsletters issued by management, in order to better understand interviewees' references to these texts mentioned during the interviews, also allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the organizational culture and context.

3.1.5 Data Analysis

As mentioned above the researcher applied various methods of data analysis to this study in order to address the research questions. Correspondingly, this

study examined the way interviewees reconstructed MW in their interaction with the interviewer, drawing on linguistic and cultural resources. Interviewees differed significantly in the extent to which they made use of the means of linguistic elements in the reconstruction of MW: Five interviewees used rich styles in their response to open questions, employing rhetorical elements like comparisons, justifications, reinforcements, ridicule, persuasion, and structural elements like orientation, complications, evaluations, and resolutions, and organized these into elaborate comprehensive accounts (i.e., "telling their story"), while twenty-five interviewees engaged in more minimalistic dialogical interaction, consisting of concise answers to semi-structured questions. Accordingly, the study distinguishes between thematically coherent stories, and dialogues. The term "Narrative" will be used as an umbrella term for stories and dialogues henceforth. All interviewees drew on cultural resources in the reconstruction of MW, carried by formal rules, values, and shared beliefs, which were co-created by the interviewer. Nonverbal cues were also taken into consideration in the process. The researcher's interpretations of narratives were based on how the interviewees talked concepts into being (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; Nikander, 2008), and on the notions that interviewees instilled in the researcher's mind through discourse in given contexts (Gee, 2014a, 2014b). In practical terms, the data analysis was conducted as follows. During the interviews the researcher took notes on general impressions (e.g., context, feelings). After the interviews, the researcher transcribed the verbal and non-verbal interaction between interviewee and interviewer (according to the conventions mentioned in the following paragraph). Subsequently the researcher reviewed his field notes, and then scrutinized the transcripts and reflected on and interpreted its linguistic structure and cultural content. He then closely watched the video recordings of the corresponding interviews, and conceived the interplay of verbal and non-verbal aspects of the interaction. As a result the researcher cognized his interpretations and corresponding meanings within the scope of their contextual emergence in the interview situation, and documented his findings by means of thick description (Geertz, 1973; Hatch, 2018). During the documentation the researcher often referred to what the narrator did (by means of his or her speech acts), failed to do, or thought. It goes without

saying that the researcher does not pretend to be able to read the mind of the narrator, rather must it be clear to the reader that such interpretations were in all cases founded on corresponding perceptions that were instilled in the interviewer's mind, while interviewer and researcher were the same person.

3.1.6 Transcript Conventions

In order to give the reader a coherent view of the interviews, as well as detailed analyses of the MW narratives, two types of transcripts were used. The first transcript type ("full transcript"), which is available as a reference to authorized readers only, consists of full transcriptions of entire interviews, employing only two transcript units, i.e., questions and answers. These questions and answers were transcribed in a verbatim manner, i.e., unabridged, and uncorrected (interviewees often used colloquial language, made grammatical errors, engaged in false starts, stammered, etc.). Punctuation (.,) was used to mark continuation and endings of utterances. A period marks a fall of the pitch in the voice of the speaker, followed by a distinct pause, signaling closure of an utterance. A comma stands for only a slight rise or fall of pitch, followed by a short pause, signaling the continuation of an utterance. The second transcript type ("narrative transcript"), as presented in the chapter on Findings, contains a line by line transcription of MW stories and dialogues. The researcher included only those interview elements that were relevant in MW reconstruction. A unique combination of units and conventions was used in these transcriptions, borrowing elements from Labov & Waletzky (1967), Mishler (1997), Ward (2004), Birdwhistell, 2010), and Gee (1986, 2015), in order to represent the specifics of MW narratives. Accordingly, the interviewer is referred to as Listener (L); interviewees are referred to as Narrators (N); slashes (/) mark the ends of Idea Units; words in bold mark intonation emphasis and thematic focus of idea units. While lines were primarily numbered according to their sequence in the full transcript, they were further subdivided in the narrative transcripts, thus preserving coherence over the two transcript types. Pauses of one second were marked by an asterisk (*); comments of one speaker embedded into the other's talk were enclosed in brackets ([]); overlapping utterances of the speakers were marked in curly brackets ({ }). Comments of the researcher

were marked by parentheses (()). Verbal cues consist of lexical (e.g., yes, no) and non-lexical (e.g., mmh, <chuckling>)) utterances of the speakers, which can be embedded or overlapping with the other's speech (see bracket conventions above). Non-verbal cues consist of eye contact, nodding or shaking the head, shrugging shoulders, tapping the forehead, etc. These transcript conventions are aimed at helping the reader to better understand the interaction between the speakers during the interviews, thereby limiting the range of possible interpretations, thus strengthening the validity of this study. The interviewees were given fictitious names in order to allow the reader to cross-reference more easily between full and narrative transcripts.

3.1.7 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is difficult to achieve in qualitative studies, due to the ambiguity inherent in open and semi-structured interviews, and the subjectivity in interpretations (Bryman, 2008). For this study reliability was established by making the steps taken during data collection and interpretation during data analysis explicit, in order to allow for a better understanding of the interview situation, and congruence of observations and interpretations. For the same purpose the instrument used in the interviews has been made available as an annex to this study (see 8.2 Interview Guide), and the interviews were video/audio recorded. Validity was established by way of triangulation, which is achieved in qualitative studies by illuminating the subject matter from different perspectives and with the help of multiple data sources (Sackmann, 1991; Bryman, 2008). Accordingly, the interview questions were asked from different angles, and follow up emails from interviewees, and official weekly newsletters issued by the organization were scrutinized to further illuminate the subject.

4 FINDINGS

The interviews differed considerably in depth and detail. Only five interviewees developed rich stories in the interaction with the interviewer, engaging in elaborate rhetorical storytelling, and drawing from a wide range of linguistic and cultural elements. The remaining twenty-five interviewees answered the interview questions in a more minimalistic dialogical style, therewith providing less elaborate responses, hereafter called dialogues. (The educational background of most of the eloquent narrators was similar in that they received advanced academic formation. Four narrators completed undergraduate university studies; one completed the German Abitur⁶ plus a vocational training.) The chapter is divided into three paragraphs. The first paragraph examines the five elaborate stories, while the second paragraph reviews the twenty-five dialogues. The third paragraph provides a summary of the findings. Only those parts of the stories and dialogues that are relevant to MW reconstruction were documented in this chapter.

At this point the researcher deems it necessary to remind the reader that the remarks that are presented in the following paragraphs are based on the researcher's interpretations. The researcher is not pretending to be able to read other person's minds, he rather documented his subjective notions of what happened during the interaction of the speakers in the interview situation (see also chapter 3.1.5). Socialization also plays a role in the way actors interpret stories and dialogues (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), therefore the researcher's short bio might help the reader to follow the interpretations. At the time of the interviews the researcher was 52 years old. He was married and had three children. He was born and raised in Germany and lived there for 44 years before he immigrated to the United States in 2007, where he lived since 8 years at the time of the interviews. His father was a truck driver, and his mother a housewife. He was a first generation university graduate in his family. He earned a bachelor degree in computer science and a master's degree in business administration. In 2013 he switched his career from a

⁶ The German Abitur is a secondary school diploma that qualifies its holders for general university admission.

Financial Controller working for an internationally operating software company and became a lecturer at a public university in Utah, U.S.A.

4.1 Five Stories on MW Reconstruction

The following sections present the findings of the data analysis over the five elaborate MW reconstructions. These are The Story of the Philosopher Executive, The Story of the Guardian, The Story of the Influencer, The Story of the Conformist, and The Story of the Educator.

4.1.1 The Story of the Philosopher Executive

The Story of the Philosopher Executive comprises three chapters. For a comprehensive understanding of the way MW is created in storytelling, all three chapters have to be considered and interpreted in a holistic sense, taking into account context, as well as the linguistic and cultural resources the speakers drew on. Although this story was created in the interaction between narrator and listener, it relied heavily on the narrator's contributions. Accordingly, the title of the story has been chosen employing a concept introduced by the narrator, namely philosophy (line 279b).

Narrator Martin was, at the time of the interview, 47 years old, married, and the father of three children. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. As a first generation university graduate he earned a degree in physical education with emphasis in sports journalism. Upon graduating from college, he started at Aachener Zeitung, Germany, as a freelancing editor, and was hired as a journalist in 1995. Since then he worked his way up the newsroom⁷ hierarchy, and after a recent promotion from managing editor to vice editor-in-chief, he occupied the second highest position in the editorial department of the newspaper. He was only subordinate to the editor-in-chief and the CEO at the time.

In chapter 1, after negotiating his role in interaction with the listener, he orients the listener towards his story, and plots it by defining and evaluating the significance of journalists, their professional obligations, and their societal

⁷ The newsroom is the physical area in a newspaper building where news are processed by journalists interacting with each other.

relevance. He ends the first chapter by bringing in an affective component, which conveys how the meaningfulness of his profession instills enthusiasm ("professional euphoria"). Chapter 2 gives an account of the narrator's understanding of MW as "creating something that endures in this world". In chapter 3 the narrator tells how his management style creates meaningfulness.

CHAPTER 1: THE GOOD JOURNALIST

Chapter 1 starts at 23:50min into the interview. Until then the narrator shared contextual data about his personal and professional life, which has been summarized in the previous paragraph. Chapter 1 is comprised of three strophes. In Strophe 1 the speakers negotiate their roles in the interview as narrator and listener. In the same strophe the listener asks a question about the meaningfulness of the organization with the hope that the narrator would not only answer the particular question, but that he would also drift into MW reconstruction in the process of storytelling. Conveniently, the narrator orients his response towards the meaningfulness of his work of a journalist in strophe 2, followed by an account in strophe 3 about his experience and evaluation of the events of 9/11 as a member of the newsroom at the time. Interpreted in its entirety chapter 1 results in 'The Good Journalist', establishing mainly (i.e., among others) the social identity of the narrator as a journalist, the standards of professionally accepted journalism, as well as the significance and relevance of journalists for society, therewith implying the work of journalists as a kind of MW. Work is meaningful if it allows the narrator to enact his identity as a journalist.

STROPHE 1 - NEGOTIATION OF ROLES

Strophe 1 consists of four stanzas. These first stanzas clear the way for the imminent MW story by negotiating who will lead the interaction in the reconstruction of MW in the narrator's context.

STANZA 1 - DEMANDING CLARIFICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking down (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head (N)
108b	L	Please relate an event / which illustrates the meaningfulness / of your organization /			x	x			x	
109, [110]	N	Can I make one short insertion / if you allow me / [L: yes /]	x	x						
111a	N	This is not at all / please / to be understood as critique / {L: yes /} / but /	x	x						
111b	N	to me it is / yesterday evening / when I went through the questions / it became clear to me /	x				x			
111c [112]	N	the biggest problem / to me / is the term meaningfulness / [L: yes / ok /]	x	x				x		
113a	N	because / I myself / do not ever use it at all / {L: yes /}	x	x				x		x

In line 108b the listener asks the narrator to narrate an event that illustrates the meaningfulness of the organization. Instead of responding as requested, the narrator indirectly asks for a definition of the term "meaningfulness" (German: "Sinnhaftigkeit"), i.e., the German nominalized form of the adjective "meaningful" (German: "sinnvoll, sinnhaft"). Although he expresses that his intention is not to criticize (line 111a), he nevertheless introduces the word "critique" into the interaction between listener and narrator, and thereby instills in the perception of the listener the possibility that the interview question indeed could have been criticized, at the same time raising the notion that the narrator attempted to prompt the listener to provide a definition. This notion of indirect critique was perceived by the listener as uncomfortable in this situation, the utterance of which the narrator pretended to mitigate by saying that the listener must not understand his comment as critique. He complicates the issue for the listener by arguing that he has a "problem" with the term (line 111c), because he never uses it (line 113a), whereby again he is implicitly requesting a definition from the listener. He stresses his remarks by simultaneously shaking his head (line 113a). However, he never asks directly for a clarification of the term. The listener in turn does not offer a definition, instead, in an attempt to signal a sense of empathy, he only nods his head

(lines 111c, 113a), and gives short affirmative utterances (lines 110, 111a, 112, 113a), but he does not grant the narrator's request, thereby prompting the narrator to initiate the development of the concept of meaningfulness on his own, in a sense "from scratch", assuming that the narrator has indeed never heard the term before, but is assumed to be capable to construct it, taking into account his profession. In the process both speakers rely on presumptions, i.e., logics of what to expect and how to behave appropriately during an academic interview in a professional setting. Accordingly, the listener is under the impression that the narrator assumes that indirect critique will trigger a desired reaction, while he also presumes that the narrator, who is a professional journalist, is completely capable of developing the concept, even if the term is not part of his daily vocabulary. For the listener the narrator tries to avoid uncertainty, thereby signaling that he, the narrator, does value certainty. The stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism, as revealed by the listener's expectation that journalists are able to cope with linguistic challenges (i.e., the conception of meaningfulness).

STANZA 2 – ESCALATING

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Smiling (L)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head (N)
113b	N	but I mean problem even / in a positive sense /	x	x		x		x		
113c [114]	N	all of a sudden I began / to ponder over the term meaningfulness / {L: yes / yes /}	x	x		x	x	x		x
115a	N	because / this is of course also somehow intended / I assume / {L: yes /}	x	x				x		
115b	N	because / it is so / it appears to be so / * old-fashioned / {L: yes /}	x	x	x	x				x
115c	N	it plays in my / in our world / not any role / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x			x		x
115d	N	and suddenly one starts / to ponder over it /	x	x	x	x				
115e	N	of course one has the term purposeful / * but meaningful / seems to me to be a little bit more / {L: yes / yes /}	x	x		x		x	x	

Lines 113b-115e follow up on the negotiation of the term "Meaningfulness" in the previous stanza. The narrator (always in the perception of the listener) describes the "problem" now in a "**positive** sense" (line 113b). Since to this point the listener did not respond to the implicit request for a definition of the term, the narrator makes another attempt to avoid uncertainty by contrasting his reflection efforts with new obstacles (i.e., "old-fashioned" and "plays not any role in our world", which he presumes to have a negative to-be-avoided meaning) that prevent him from understanding the term, thereby escalating the interview situation (lines 115b, 115c, 115e), which was felt as slightly tense at this point by the listener. However, once again, the listener does not provide a definition for meaningfulness, he only indicates sympathy by affirmative lexical (lines 114, 115a, 115b, 115e) and non-lexical (line 115c) utterances, as well as by nodding his head (lines 113b, 113c, 115a, 115c, 115e), thereby further stressing the narrator to construct the concept of meaningfulness by himself, relying on the assumption that silence prompts turn-taking in face-to-face interactions (Goffman, 1967). The stanza still draws on the normative dimension of the institution of journalism as described in the previous stanza.

STANZA 3 - ACCOMODATING

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Frowning (N)	Nodding (L)	Scratching head (N)	Shaking head (N)
115f	N	<i>this only as / therefore one was always / * a little bit / * was I clinging to the question of /</i>	x		x				x	
115g	N	<i>will I be able to address the term meaningfulness / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x		x		x		x
115h	N	<i>I am still not so sure ***/</i>	x		x	x	x			
115i	N	<i>I will try it anyway /</i>	x		x					

In lines 115f-115i the narrator (always in the perception of the listener) makes a last attempt to express his uncertainty about the term "meaningfulness", and his need for a definition, stressed by shaking his head (line 115g) and a long

pause (line 115h). Although the listener signals sympathy by nodding his head and giving affirmative utterances (line 155g), he does not provide a solution to his dilemma. As a result, the narrator gives in and offers to try to respond to the interview question anyway (line 115i). He utters the phrase "I am still not so sure" in line 115h, again signaling to the listener that he values certainty. The stanza still draws on the normative dimension of the institution of journalism as described in the previous stanzas.

STANZA 4 – DE-ESCALATING

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Resting chin on hand (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Tapping forehead (N)
116	L	<i>therefore</i> / <i>therefore</i> we have to approach this term from different perspectives / <i>therefore</i> we also have a lot of overlapping / with the questions / right / {N: but to this end / yes / there we are completely /} because /	x	x	x				x	
117 [118]	N	exactly / this has / causes only a little irritation / because one is not sure / about the term / [L: right /]	x	x				x		
119 [120a]	N	because one does not ever use it / right / [L: right / right /]	x	x				x		
120b [121a]	L	and I do not want to purport anything here / because I want to hear from you / right / what is meaningfulness to you / [N: no / exactly /]	x	x	x				x	
121b [122]	N	therefore / this is just meant as a consideration maybe / that might be interesting for you / that this has kept me thinking / [L: yes / mmh /]	x	x	x			x		
123a	N	pondering over meaningfulness at all / {L: yes /}	x	x				x		x
123b	N	if it would have said purposeful / {L: mmh /} * then maybe it would have been easier /	x	x	x	x	x			
123c [124]	N	but then I would not have pondered as much over it / {L: mmh /} insofar this is / there is also a payback for me at this point / [L: ok / ok / mmh /]	x	x	x			x		

Stanza 4 is dominated by the listener's attempt to actively de-escalate the slightly tense situation from the first three stanzas. The long pause in line 115h of the previous stanza, which the listener did not react to by turn-taking

(in order to make it clear to the narrator that no definition would be provided by the listener), resulted in an atmosphere that the listener experienced as slightly awkward, and he felt that it was probable that the narrator was under the same impression. Awkwardness due to silence can be problematic in interviews, because it can lead to a disconnect in the interaction between the speakers (Goffman, 1967; Enninger, 1987), hence the listener's intervention. In lines 116 and 120 the listener gives a cursory explanation why he did not provide a definition, namely due to the need to hear from the narrator what meaningfulness meant for him personally, which instantly puts the narrator (always in the perception of the listener) at ease and allows again for a trustful and benevolent interaction, even a social bond perceived by the listener, voiced by vivid, overlapping expressions of understanding and approval uttered by both speakers (lines 116-124), accompanied by the narrator's tapping on the forehead (line 123a), and the listener's nodding of the head (lines 117-119, 121b-123a, 123c). The narrator closes the stanza by assuring that he even benefitted personally from his reflections around his attempts to understand the concept of meaningfulness, thereby accepting the listener's de-escalation (line 123c). The stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of journalism, as described above, but also on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship (i.e., kinship in its wider sense as bond between fellow-humans), and its derivative notion of affiliation, in that both speakers strive to keep the interaction harmonious and emotionally safe as a shared logic and understanding. That is, the speakers not only stick to an interaction ritual in a professional interview setting with behavioral expectations on both sides, which is an indication of the normative dimension of the institution of economy, they rather go beyond the formal ritual and establish an inter-subjective bond of affiliation on a cognitive level, i.e., based on a shared understanding of harmony and benevolence. In the last line of the stanza the narrator takes it for granted that the listener understands his remark about a personal benefit ("there is also a payback for me"), thereby drawing from the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy. That is, the narrator is not expecting that his remark is appropriate in a free market society, which would be an indication for the normative dimension of the

institution of economy, he rather takes for granted that his remark is supported by the listener's way of understanding the world.

In this first strophe, consisting of four stanzas, the listener perceived the narrator to be in an uncomfortable situation, because he was asked to narrate about a concept (i.e., meaningfulness), which was not fully clear to him (here the listener presumed that ambiguity in interviews results in uncomfortable situations, relying on his emotional perception). As a member of a profession that works with the intricacies of language on a daily basis, the narrator was expected to be aware of how important it is to understand a concept before giving opinions or descriptions of it, hence his demand for clarification was understandable to the listener. The fact (in the perception of the listener) that the narrator, a seasoned journalist, was not aware of but expected by the listener to be able to make sense of the term meaningfulness, had possibly added to the narrator's apparent discomfort. The narrator justified his unawareness by the assurance that he had never used the term (stanza 1), and that it was irrelevant and outdated (stanza 2), thereby implying that it was not appropriate to use it in the interview without further clarification. The listener's interpretation of these stanzas was aggravated by the fact that the narrator's profession was that of a journalist, a detail that added weight to his critique, because the listener took it for granted that journalists have expertise in the use of terminology. Since the narrator did not engage in direct criticism to ease his discomfort (this strophe reminded the researcher of Swidler's social echolocation⁸), he assumed (in the perception of the listener) that the situation was not appropriate for an open dispute, and that subtle clues of criticism, non-verbal cues, and a long pause following the arguments would be sufficient to trigger defensive talk from the listener, and that he applied this insight to the interview situation in anticipation of a clarification of the concept, and possibly even expecting a justification of its use (stanza 3). The listener assumed that by not giving in to the narrator's demand for clarification, he could possibly trigger the active reconstruction of the concept of

⁸ "Cultural imagery is used somewhat the way bats use the walls of caves for echolocation. Bats know where they are by bouncing sounds off the objects around them. Similarly people orient themselves partly by bouncing their ideas off the cultural alternatives made apparent in their environments" (Swidler, 2003:30).

meaningfulness (and, possibly, as a result or by-product of the insights, MW reconstruction) from the narrator, who could be seen as an expert in reconstruction on a daily basis by profession (presuming that journalists make meaning for readers in social interaction with colleagues and readers on a daily basis). Eventually the listener decided to de-escalate the slightly tense situation by giving a cursory explanation as to why he did not provide a definition of the term meaningfulness in the first place (stanza 4), thereby easing the narrator's apparent discomfort. In other words (in the perception of the listener), the speakers negotiated their roles for the upcoming reconstruction of MW in this first strophe. The listener based his role on openness and sympathy towards the narrator's story, but confined himself to give only affirmative comments in the form of short lexical, non-lexical utterances, and non-verbal cues, in order to create confidence and encouragement for the narrator without dominating the storyline. The narrator was perceived to be trying to obtain guidance from the listener in the beginning of the strophe, but eventually accepted being primarily responsible for the development of the concept. Narrator and listener interacted according to shared understandings regarding professional face-to-face interaction.

STROPHE 2 – ORIENTATION

Orientations in narratives contain contextual information about time, place, persons, and events (Labov, 1972). In stanza 5 the narrator determines the editorial department to be the professional background for his narrative, because he expresses that it is his "world". Tacitly going along with this determination are the location (i.e., the newsroom) and persons (i.e., peers who also work in the newsroom). The event is the crisis that unfolded in the newsroom around the attacks on the U.S.A. of September 11, 2001, announced only briefly in stanza 6, but fully narrated in Strophe 3.

STANZA 5 – REDIRECTING CONTEXT

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head/shrugging shoulders (N)
125b	N	<i>I will illustrate meaningfulness / with a very clear-cut example /</i>	x		x	x				
125c	N	<i>it is less related to the company / rather / there I have to differentiate /</i>			x	x				
125d	N	<i>what has stuck in memory / meaningful / what was meaningful /</i>	x			x				
125e	N	<i>there I have to refer to the editorial component / to what we do as a daily newspaper /</i>	x	x					x	
125f	N	<i>and less to what we do for example in executive management / due to economic reasons /</i>	x	x			x	x		x
125g	N	<i>I have to confine myself / to my world /</i>	x	x						x

In line 108b of the previous strophe the listener asks the narrator to narrate an event that illustrates the meaningfulness of the organization, but the narrator deviates from the request, and engages in a negotiation of the term "meaningfulness" (stanzas 1 to 4) and eventually implements a different focus for his response in lines 125b to 125g. With stanza 5 the narrator establishes the purpose of the chapter, i.e., an illustration of MW. In the last line of the stanza he orients the listener towards his 'world' (line 125g), which is journalism. However, this orientation was not inevitable. The narrator was the managing editor and therewith a member of upper management at the time, not only with professional but also commercial responsibility for the newsroom. He could have referred to commercial aspects of his job (e.g., revenue generation) in order to illustrate meaningfulness, however, he took a journalistic focus to do so (lines 125e, 125f). In other words, he related meaningfulness to the journalistic aspect of his position (always in the perception of the listener). He supported this professional focus non-verbally

by shaking his head when he contrasted the editorial with the commercial dimension of the organization (lines 125e, 125f). The listener acknowledged his comprehension of this orientation by nodding his head (line 125f). Therewith, for the listener, both speakers signaled a common understanding of the legitimacy of the narrator's professional journalistic focus as the basis for the meaningfulness of his job. The stanza draws mainly on two subcategories of economy as an institution, i.e., professionalism and commerce. The narrator revealed a preference for journalism over commerce by stating that journalism was his "world", leaving the listener with the impression that he identified primarily as a journalist, and not as a businessman, instilling the notion of a tension field of expectations between journalism and commerce. The next stanza gives a clue as to what this world consists in, which made the narrator prefer to identify as a journalist.

STANZA 6 – PROVIDING ADDITIONAL CONTEXT

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking down (N)	Nodding (L)
125h	N	<i>and this was for me September 11, 2001 / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		x	
125i	N	<i>that was for me meaningful / that was meaningfulness / in its very best sense /</i>		x	x		x

In lines 125h and 125i the narrator names an event that he experienced from within his professional reality (as per line 125g in the previous stanza), and describes it as the epitome of meaningfulness. He only mentions the date of the event, assuming that the listener is able to decipher what he is referring to (i.e., the attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and the U.S. Pentagon on September 11, 2001). The stanza provides additional contextual information related to the event that the subsequent narrative is based on. The listener was under the impression that both speakers regarded the 9/11 event as very meaningful (i.e., an event that questioned the legitimacy of Western values), and tacitly loaded with affection (i.e., compassion for the victims, wrath for the terrorists). He acknowledges

this conviction by nodding his head (line 125i). The stanza takes reverence for human life for granted, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STROPHE 3 – EVALUATION

While in strophe 2 (stanza 5) the narrator established the purpose of the narrative, i.e., the illustration of MW, in strophe 3 he tells the actual narrative, which consists of a sequential account of a workplace event, facilitated by the interaction with the listener. During the account the narrator justifies why he picked that particular story, and why it was worth telling (stanza 7). In the following stanzas he establishes particular elements of his value system in the context of his profession.

STANZA 7 – ESTABLISHING SIGNIFICANCE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)	Scratching face (N)
125j	N	and that was an event / which / very visible /	x	x	x	x				
125k	N	all the colleagues / which worked here at this point in time / at this day /	x	x				x		
125l	N	knocked them out of their socks /	x	x			x	x	x	
125m	N	and made them speechless /	x	x		x		x		x
125n	N	there have always been events / every now and then /	x			x	x			
125o	N	but this was the outstanding one /	x			x	x			

In Stanza 7 the narrator starts his narrative on the 9/11 crisis, which, in his experience, unfolded in the newsroom for the journalists that were on duty during the event. He uses an affective visual intensification (it "knocked them out of their socks") and a comparison (lines 125n, 125o), setting the event into perspective with earlier events, conveying the awe and speechlessness that he observed among his colleagues. He concludes that the 9/11 event was the most outstanding of all events that he ever experienced in his career (line

125o), thus establishing significance for his narrative by offering something extraordinary to the listener. To the listener, the narrator also takes it for granted that an event that includes the loss of human lives is inherently significant. The listener expresses agreement to this cognition by silently nodding his head (lines 125k-125m). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STANZA 8 – ESTABLISHING AFFILIATION AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Touching head (N)
125p	N	<i>and then how / the newsroom / achieved it /</i>	x		x			x
125q	N	<i>together / collectively / in the team / jointly /</i>	x		x			x
125r	N	<i>to overcome / this shock / very quickly /</i>	x	x		x	x	
125s	N	<i>because / of course / one does not even have another option /</i>	x	x			x	x

In stanza 8 the narrator describes how he experienced the members of the newsroom overcoming shock together, namely as a team, in cooperation (line 125p to 125r). Stepping out of the account and evaluating what happened by switching from present perfect to present tense, he states that "one" (i.e., a newsroom member) "has no other option" (line 125s) but to overcome the crisis as a team, taking it for granted that journalists have an obligation to cope with the crisis, and that they have to cope with it as a team. By doing so, he establishes value⁹ for his affiliation with other journalists (i.e., affiliation has value because it enables to cope with the crisis), and a need for this affiliation (i.e., teamwork is needed to cope with the crisis). The listener expresses being in accord with the narrator over these principles by nodding his head (lines 125r-125s), thereby also signaling his belief that both speakers rely on the conviction that teamwork enables workers to achieve larger goals. Accordingly, in the perception of the listener, this stanza establishes the value and the need for affiliation as a dimension of MW in the speakers' reality,

⁹ Values are conceptions of the preferred or the desirable, and carriers of normative institutions (Scott, 2014).

drawing on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extensions division of labor, journalism, and teamwork. Also, the listener conceived the term "achieved" in the given context as drawing from the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of success, taking for granted that success is an end that "one" strives for.

STANZA 9 – ESTABLISHING THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Touching head (N)
125t	N	and then / to go there / in order to restore meaningfulness /	x		x	x			x
125u	N	as far as that was possible in such a quick manner /	x		x	x			x
125v	N	for somebody sitting out there /	x	x			x	x	

In stanza 9 the narrator presumes that, as a journalist, he has to help others, i.e., the readers of the newspaper, to make sense of the 9/11 event. The narrator takes it for granted that the (passively "sitting") readers are not as able as journalists to make sense of the event, thus he establishes that journalists act in the role of interpreters, linking the readers with reality, that is, reality as defined by society. Until this point in the interview the narrator had not yet explicitly evaluated the 9/11 events, he just trusts that the listener shares the same perception, namely that the incident was a terrorist attack that has to be condemned unconditionally (which is a prevalently Western society opinion (Rabasa et. al., 2004)), and that, in the context established over the previous stanzas, the violation of the social norm of condemning homicide signifies a loss of sense (Hechter & Opp, 2001) for non-journalists. The listener affirms his congruence with this understanding by nodding his head (line 125v). The listener was under the impression that this stanza establishes the role of 'the journalist as a meaning-maker' as a dimension of MW in the narrator's reality, drawing on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism, but also on the cognitive

dimension of the institution of kinship (taking for granted that "one" helps other fellow human beings).

STANZA 10 – ESTABLISHING MASTERY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head/shrugging shoulders (N)
125w	N	<i>so / to bring that what was happening there / and what nobody could comprehend /</i>	x		x				x
125x	N	<i>into a form / from which one could resume / at best /</i>	x		x				
125y	N	<i>and to assert / hey people / tomorrow we try to / maybe / help you understand / that would be completely exaggerated /</i>	x	x	x	x			x
125z	N	<i>but that whole flood of images / that was there anyway / we tried to cope with it / within the scope of our humble possibilities / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	

According to the narrator the journalists gave the 9/11 event a form in order to help readers cope with the situation and resume life. The listener interprets the narrator's hypothetical direct speech in line 125y as an expression of his conviction of the readers' inability to make sense of the event, emphasized by his (the narrator's) shaking of the head during the utterance. The narrator also takes for granted that he has to help readers by means of his professional abilities (lines 125y, 125z), supposing that his skills have value for others in understanding the world, thus establishing his need for the mastery of such skills. The listener signals agreement by nodding his head (125z) and a non-lexical utterance during the last line. In the listener's perception, this stanza establishes the value and need of mastery as a dimension of MW in the speakers' reality, drawing on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism.

STANZA 11 – ESTABLISHING ACHIEVEMENT AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Leaning forward (N)
125aa	N	<i>so this whole process /</i>	x	x				
125ab	N	<i>also then with this result /</i>	x	x			x	
125ac	N	<i>it took various days / naturally /</i>	x	x	x			
125ad	N	<i>that / was for me something meaningful /</i>	x	x	x	x		
125ae	N	<i>both within / internally /</i>	x	x				
125af	N	<i>as well as / at least I hope /</i>	x		x			x
125ag	N	<i>there were also corresponding reactions afterwards /</i>	x		x			
125ah	N	<i>in the result / externally / {L: mmh /}</i>	X	x		x	x	
125ai	N	<i>so / from both of these perspectives /</i>	X	x		x		
125aj [126]	N	<i>that was for me meaningfulness / [L: mmh / mmh /]</i>	X	x		x		

In stanza 11 the narrator verbally describes the importance of the work process and its results (lines 125ab, 125ad), reinforced by his nodding of the head (line 125ab). He differentiates between internal results (line 125ae), and external results (line 125ah). He uses the term "reactions" (line 125ag), in order to make it clear that the yardstick for external success is the newspaper readers' feedback. In the perception of the listener the stanza aims at convincing the listener of the value of the work of a journalist with the help of hard facts, i.e., "results", presuming that positive internal results (i.e., being a "good" journalist by way of compliance with professional obligation, as described later in line 127), and positive external results (i.e., affirmative reactions from readers) demonstrate meaningfulness (line 125aj). Hence, the narrator values the achievement of positive results. The listener affirms his understanding of these cognitions by nodding his head (lines 125ad, 125ah-125aj) and non-lexical utterances. The stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism.

STANZA 12 – ESTABLISHING FUNCTION AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Frowning (N)	Shaking head (N)	Leaning back/forward (N)
127a	N	** so / how a handful of humans /	x		x					
127c	N	<i>tries to comprehend such an inconceivable event / anyhow /</i>	x	x						x
127d	N	<i>and / and in this moment / one must of course function / {L: yes / yes /}</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x	
127e	N	<i>that's clear / that is the profession /</i>	x	x						x

In this stanza the narrator states that journalists must function (line 127d) according to the profession (line 127e), even under inconceivable circumstances (line 127c). Thereby the narrator establishes that journalists need to comply with a social obligation to continue working even under extreme circumstances, giving evidence of the normative dimension of this stanza. The stanza also establishes functioning as a value for the narrator since it enables him to comply with the norms. By using the word "function" he also reveals his belief that journalism exists as a social system, in which humans participate and occupy a function, being subject to professional norms, an understanding to which the listener signals congruence by nodding his head (127d) and adding verbal utterances. The stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism.

STANZA 13 – ESTABLISHING COMPOSURE AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head (N)	Scratching face (N)
127f	N	<i>but one is / anyhow / deeply moved oneself / distraught / {L: mmh/}</i>	x	x		x		x	

127g	N	<i>and one would only like to run away too /</i>	x	x	x			x	
127h	N	<i>and / and to be with one's next of kin /</i>	x	x		x			x
127i	N	<i>but one sits there / and must / {L: mmh /} has to /</i>	x	x		x	x		
127j	N	<i>but that is also stunning /</i>	x		x				
127k	N	<i>and then / and this has nothing to do with coolness / or coldness / or distance / rather with /</i>	x		x	x			

In this stanza the narrator describes the effect of emotions in his profession (lines 127f, 127g), and the strength of his family ties felt at work (line 127h). These affective challenges stand in conflict with his rational professional (i.e., normative) obligations as a journalist to function also in extreme situations (expressed by the words "but" and "must" in line 127i; see also the previous stanza), thereby establishing self-control or composure as a value in the perception of the listener. He reinforces this notion by shaking the head in line 127g, nodding the head in line 127i, and by using the adjective "stunning" in line 127j. Although he establishes the emotional dimension of this stanza with the help of lines 127f-h, he closes by assuring composure has nothing to do with (emotional) coolness, coldness, or distance, while creating dramatic tension by leaving open the question of what else can be done in order to cope with the emotional implications of the event. The stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism.

STANZA 14 – ESTABLISHING CONSISTENCY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)
127l	N	<i>and that makes a good journalist /</i>	x		x	x
127m	N	<i>that he finds the switch / anyway / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x		x

In this stanza the narrator answers the listener's imaginary question that he left open in the previous stanza, regarding to what can be done to cope with emotional stress, without becoming emotionally cool, cold, or distant. This way the narrator dissolves the dramatic tension that he established in the previous stanza by offering the climax of his narrative, which consists in his definition of the "good journalist". The good journalist is able to "find the switch" of professional behavior in spite of emotional challenges (line 127m). The narrator emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures, and both speakers keep eye contact during the stanza (line lines 127l-m). Since the narrator and listener have established a shared understanding of the narrator's value system in previous stanzas, he can now expect that the listener understands his metaphor of "finding the switch", meaning the ability to function in the role of a journalist, unimpressed by emotions, focusing on procedures, consistent in his efforts, even when exposed to shocking events, without becoming emotionally cold. This stanza establishes the value of consistence as a characteristic of the role of the good journalist as a dimension of MW in the narrator's reality, relying on professional norms. Also this stanza draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension journalism.

Stanza 15 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Shaking head (N)
127n	N	<i>and then it also happens that there develops something like / in such a teamwork /</i>	x	x	x	x			
127o	N	<i>and that works only in a team /</i>	x	x	x				x
127p	N	<i>which pictures / how are we going to do it / {L: mmh /}</i>	x		x	x			
127q	N	<i>then there is also / always within the tragedy of such an event /</i>	x	x	x	x			
127r	N	<i>there develops at some point / in spite of everything / internally / merely related to content / a procedural euphoria / {L: mmh /} that /</i>	x	x		x	x		

127s [128]	N	<i>you understand what I mean here / [L: yes / yes / of course / yes /]</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	
129 [130]	N	<i>that is / so / that I regarded as / that was for me meaning*ful*ness / [L: mmh / ok/] ***</i>	x	x	x				

With coda a narrator signals that his or her narrative is finished, expecting turn-taking (Labov, 1972). Here the narrator closes the narrative by offering an overall evaluation of the 9/11 event, which is informed by the taken-for-granted cognition that the loss of human lives means tragedy. He stresses the meaningfulness of his profession by creating a paradox: euphoria in tragedy. However, the narrator comes over as worried about his use of this dichotomy; euphoria is not what "one" expects from a socially recognized professional (i.e., an identity that he established and maintained during the interview) during an experience of tragedy, therefore he qualifies the noun euphoria with the adjective "procedural" (German: "arbeitstechnisch"), creating a euphemism in the context of the stanza. Also, the narrator introduces to the paradox by mentioning that it was an experience that can only be made in a team, emphasized by shaking his head (line 127o) and using hypothetical direct speech (line 127p). As a result the listener recalls the needs for affiliation and composure, which the narrator established in previous stanzas (stanzas 8, and 13). Then the narrator makes sure that the listener understood the paradox in its intended sense (i.e., as an expression of professional enthusiasm) by asking for feedback (line 127s). The listener affirms his understanding by nodding his head (lines 127r-127s) and verbal utterances (line 128). The narrator concludes the stanza and chapter by inserting distinct pauses into the utterance of the word meaningfulness (German: "Sinn*haftig*keit"), followed by a long pause, indicating his expectation for turn-taking. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, in that it takes the affiliation between team members for granted, sharing the strong emotion of euphoria.

In the perception of the listener the narrator's intention with this chapter was to illustrate the meaningfulness of his work in his identity as a journalist.

Throughout the chapter the speakers reconstructed MW in and by their interaction, drawing on linguistic and cultural resources.

CHAPTER 2: THE TRANSCENDENT EXECUTIVE

Chapter 2 begins at 1:21:45hr into the interview. The listener asked the narrator to explain why he professionally writes. The narrator organizes the chapter into three strophes and eight stanzas, further developing the value system that he started in chapter 1. The chapter also establishes the social identity of the narrator as a transcendent thinker in the context of work. Work is meaningful if it allows the narrator to enact this identity as a transcendent executive.

STROPHE 1 - ORIENTATION

In this strophe the narrator orients the listener towards the context of the new chapter.

STANZA 1 – ESTABLISHING REFLECTION AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down (N)	Hand gesture (L)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Smiling (L)
279b	N	<i>now / without letting it become too philosophical / I hope / {L: yes} at least /</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x
279c	N	<i>but now I do have to explain myself for once /</i>	x		x	x			

In stanza 1 the narrator (in the perception of the listener) providently justified his response to the listener's question. He is concerned, expressed by using the affective term hope in this context, that talking about the philosophical implications of his occupation might not be appropriate in a professional setting, thereby maintaining his identity as an executive of Medienhaus at the same time (line 279b). Nevertheless, he also relies on the assumption that philosophical considerations are necessary for deep reflection, implying that deep reflection is required to explain MW (line 279c). As a result, he establishes reflection as a value instrumental for MW reconstruction. The narrator uses the term "have to" (Line 279c) as a cognitive justifier. The

narrator accompanies his remarks with hand gestures (line 279b), the listener signals his congruence with hand gestures (lines 279b-c), nodding (line 279b), smiling (line 279b), and a verbal confirmation (line 279b). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its extension professionalism.

STANZA 2 – ESTABLISHING TRANSCENDENCE AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Shaking head (N)
279d	N	<i>it drives me that / that /</i>	x	x	x		
279e	N	<i>I know that I live very intensely in the now / {L: mmh /} but /</i>	x	x	x		
279f	N	<i>I / eventually / without overreaching myself here / I want that something from me remains / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x	x	
279g	N	<i>although that actually / I do not want / that people / I do not want to be great /</i>	x		x	x	x
279h	N	<i>but I want / to create something / which remains /</i>	x		x	x	

In stanza 2 the narrator again mitigates the impact of his subsequent statements beforehand in an effort of face-maintenance (Goffman, 1967), in order not to damage ("without overreaching", line 279f) his image of a socially recognized professional, which he established as a result of the entire interview interaction. In the perception of the listener the narrator also establishes transcendence as a value by expressing his desire to create something that "remains", meaning something that endures beyond his death (lines 279f, 279h). The narrator emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures (lines 279f-h), and shaking the head (line 279g). The listener acknowledges the narrator's explanations by non-lexical utterances (lines 279e-f) and gaze (lines 279d-h). The narrator takes for granted that his desire of creating something that surpasses life is comprehensible, therewith he is relying on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion (or: quasi-religion), and its

derivative notion of persistence, taking for granted that persistence is an end that "one" can strive for.

STROPHE 2 - COMPLICATION

In strophe 2 the narrator complicates his story by mentioning a backlash that he experienced with a book that he wrote privately.

STANZA 3 – ESTABLISHING INFLUENCE AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Hand gesture (N)
279i	N	<i>therefore I also wrote a / a 450 page novel /</i>	x	x	x	x
279j	N	<i>it did not sell / unfortunately / {L: yes /} but I also marketed it myself /</i>	x	x	x	x
279k	N	<i>today of course just anybody can write a book /</i>	x		x	x
279l	N	<i>but I want some influence / with what I write / I would like to /</i>	x		x	

In stanza 3 the narrator complicates the chapter by giving an account of the extraordinary efforts that he undertook to leave a legacy by writing a book (line 279i in combination with the previous stanza), and his interpretation of the matter as a commercial failure (line 279j), thus establishing significance to the matter while relying on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of success. He also establishes influence as something that he values (line 279l). He stresses his remarks by hand gestures (lines 279i-k). The listener signals his agreement with a verbal utterance (line 279j). In the listener the stanza instills the notion that the narrator takes for granted that writing a book could potentially influence others and leave a legacy, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of persistence.

STROPHE 3 - EVALUATION

Here the narrator continues to establish his value system that he started in the previous chapter.

STANZA 4 – ESTABLISHING APPROVAL AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Leaning forward (N)
279m	N	<i>the effect shall be / that someone reads it and thinks /</i>	x		x		x
279n	N	<i>oh / yes / he is right / or * / good person / good thought / good human / {L: yes /} even that / fine with me /</i>	x	x		x	x

In this couplet, in the perception of the listener, the narrator establishes his need for the approval of other people, and therewith affiliation, and that by writing he can achieve both. The narrator takes it for granted that seeking affiliation is a comprehensible concept. He accompanies his remarks by hand gestures (line 279n), and body posture (line 279m-n). The listener signals understanding by a verbal utterance (line 279n). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STANZA 5 – ESTABLISHING HUMANENESS AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
279o	N	<i>actually I want to provide humaneness / with my writing /</i>	x		x	
279p	N	<i>and in the best case / I hope / of course/ that this remains / {L: yes / yes /} that /</i>	x	x		x

In this short stanza the narrator establishes humaneness as a value. He takes it for granted that striving for humaneness is a comprehensible concept. He emphasizes his remarks by shrugging his shoulders (line 279p). The listener expresses his agreement with verbal utterances (line 279p). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institutions of kinship, and its

derivative notion of affiliation, and religion, and its derivative notion of persistence ("I hope that this remains").

STANZA 6 – ESTABLISHING LEGACY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (N)
279q	N	<i>then I think / naturally / of next of kin /</i>	x	x	x	
279r	N	<i>then I think of / ok / perhaps my children sometime /</i>	x	x	x	
279s	N	<i>(will) take something from me / into their hands /</i>	x	x	x	
279t	N	<i>because / taking something into their hands / what I have put into writing at some point in time / {L: aha /}</i>	x	x		x

In this stanza, in the perception of the listener, the narrator establishes a social identity as an ancestor who leaves a legacy. He takes it for granted that a corresponding striving is understandable. He stresses his remarks by hand gestures (lines 279q-s), and nodding (line 279t). The listener signals his understanding by a verbal utterance (line 279t). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institutions of kinship and religion.

STANZA 7 – ESTABLISHING IDENTITY AS A PROTECTOR

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Shaking head (N)
279u	N	<i>by the way / I have / this is new / I want to take on this topic once more very soon /</i>	x			x	x		
279v	N	<i>so / the / the lost script /</i>	x	x			x	x	
279w	N	<i>because we write less and less / and so /</i>	x	x					
279x	N	<i>this also drives me / very much / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x					
279y	N	<i>so the / the form /</i>		x	x				x
279z	N	<i>I / I unlearn it myself / I notice it / I / I unlearn to write with my hand / I catch myself / when I write a letter / after five minutes my arm gets sore /</i>	x	x				x	
279aa	N	<i>and the writing gets / it is horrible / so /</i>	x	x					x

In this stanza, the narrator expands his identity from that of a patriarch for his family and close friends to that of a protector of script. He asserts his remarks by hand gestures (lines 279u-v), and shaking his head (lines 279y, 279aa). The listener affirms his agreement with the narrator's explanations by nodding (lines 279v, 279z), and a verbal utterance (line 279x). The narrator relies on the notion that protecting traditional human skills is understandable and valuable. Therewith the stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of persistence.

STANZA 8 – CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Frowning (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
279ab	N	so / something shall remain from me /	x			x			x	
279ac	N	I am also keeping a journal since twenty years /	x	x	x		x			
279ad	N	these are all located in / a safe box / at my bank / in a vault / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x			x		
279ae	N	so / I write every day / because I think / {L: yes /} I / I also have always the feeling / I have to keep hold on something / {L: yes / yes /} I have to / I must /	x	x			x			x
279af	N	perhaps this has to do with / that I do not want / that it is coming to an end / {L: yes /} */ so /	x	x			x			
279ag	N	so / I am as healthy as a horse / I do not expect / {L: chuckling /} that it will be over any time soon / but */	x	x			x			x
279ah	N	I can bear the thought only with difficulty / that it will be over eventually / and /	x	x		x				
279ai [280]	N	therefore / I would totally love it / if I would have achieved then / having created something that remains / [L: yes /]	x	x	x		x			x

The narrator closes his account by mentioning a last example of his striving for leaving a legacy, followed by the expression of a strong emotion (line 279ah). He complements his remarks with hand gestures (lines 279ac, 279ae-ag, 279ai), frowning (line 279ab), and shrugging his shoulders (lines

279ae, 279ag, 279ai). The listener affirms his understanding by nodding (line 279ad), and verbal and non-lexical utterances (lines 279ad-af, 279ai). The narrator takes it for granted that his account is comprehensible. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative persistence. The central topic of the chapter emerges at this point in the listener's perception as the Transcendent Executive, due to the narrator's efforts of establishing his identity as a socially respected professional in chapter 1, in combination with his striving for transcendence in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 3: THE SOLIDARY EXECUTIVE

Chapter 3 commences at 1:36:50hr into the interview. The use of the term "Solidary" in the title of this chapter is the result of the interpretation of its ten stanzas. In the particular stanzas the narrator developed further his value system, but in aggregate the stanzas instilled the concept of solidarity as the central value and topic of this chapter. In the perception of the listener the chapter establishes the social identity of the narrator as an executive that is still connected to the working class. Work is meaningful if it allows the narrator to enact this identity as a solidary executive.

STROPHE 1 - ORIENTATION

In this strophe the narrator orients the listener towards the context of the new chapter.

STANZA 1 – ESTABLISHING AFFILIATION AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Leaning forward (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Scratching head (N)
333a	N	<i>I derive from interaction that / I always have the feeling / that **** / that ** /</i>	x	x	x					
333b	N	<i>I feel an acceptance / I feel with my counterpart an acceptance / that he ** /</i>	x	x	x			x	x	

333c	N	he knows / that this talk / even when it gets ugly sometimes * / he can always endure /	x	x	x				x	
333d	N	and there / so / I feel something like ** / there is everything possible / in either direction / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x					x
333e	N	that / that / fosters in me / I ponder over / that's the way I would phrase it / or /	x		x	x				
333f	N	I see / that there is something in my way of communication / about me / which brings the other person into a * comfortable situation /	x	x	x	x			x	
333g	N	that is what I derive from it for me / {L: mmh /} so / the thought / I am on a good path / {L: mmh /}	x	x		x	x	x		
335a	N	so / there I feel myself / nobody will be put down / or /	x	x	x	x				

The narrator never uses the terms superior or subordinate anywhere in his narrative, giving the listener a first clue that he considers himself on equal grounds with his team members. He initiates the stanza with affective terms, uttering that he feels accepted by his followers (lines 333a-b). He explains this acceptance to be the result of his fair dealings with his team members: "everything is possible in either direction" (lines 333c-d). He takes for granted that being on equal grounds with his team members is something that is comprehensible, expressed by his conviction to be on a "good path" (line 333g). In contrast he introduces a different approach to leadership with the term "putting down" in the last line, a scenario that is also thinkable in the interaction between superior and subordinate, and probably more likely in his professional experience (line 335a, also see stanza 5). He emphasizes his remarks by hand gestures (lines 333e-335a), nodding (lines 333b-c, 333f), and body posture (line 333g). The listener expresses his agreement by nodding (lines 333b, 333g), and affirmative non-lexical utterances (lines 333d, 333g). The stanza instills in the listener the notion that the narrator establishes a sense of affiliation with the help of benevolence as the basis for his power execution in his area of responsibility. He does so as a preferred choice between two thinkable alternatives, i.e., benevolence resulting in affiliation and a normative power structure, versus hierarchy-based sanctions resulting in coercion and a regulative power structure. The alternative of "putting down" draws on the regulative dimension of the institution of polity,

and enforcement as a power mechanism based on fear. The narrator's preference for benevolence draws on the normative dimension of polity, and social obligation as a power mechanism based on honor (e.g., the subordinate might think that the superior did something nice to him/her and as a result feels obligated to comply with orders). Also, the stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship (i.e., in its wider sense relating to the social bond between fellow organizational and class members), and its derivative notion of affiliation, which the narrator integrates in his management style.

STROPHE 2 - COMPLICATION

In strophe 2 the narrator complicates his story by mentioning a conflict situation with one of his subordinates.

STANZA 2 - ESTABLISHING COMPLIANCE AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Smiling (L)	Touching head (N)
335b	N	<i>I can also turn nasty at times / in the sense of /</i>	x	x	x			x
335c	N	<i>the day before yesterday we had a colleague / he came ten minutes late to a meeting /</i>	x	x		x		
335d	N	<i>there were even customers present /</i>	x	x		x		
335e	N	<i>a young guy / with him I had / I always had the feeling / I have to explain some things to him sometime / concerning attitude /</i>	x	x	x	x		
335f	N	<i>and we had explicitly discussed everything with him up front / and then he comes ten minutes late /</i>	x	x	x	x	x	
335g	N	<i>which totally upset me / and there I said /</i>	x	x	x			

With this stanza the narrator conveys his locus of experience to the listener by depicting a scene of a subordinate that came late to a meeting with customers. He makes it clear that it is important for him to contribute to the prevention of non-compliance with the enforcement of organizational norms. He starts the stanza with a statement ensuring that, despite of the insights

into his management style provided by the previous stanza, he is also able to apply sanctions if necessary (line 335b). He then gives an example of non-compliance, i.e., coming late to a meeting (line 335c). The fact that clients' expectations might have been damaged aggravates the situation, pronouncing his self-image as a responsible executive (line 335d). He evaluates the fact of the delayed meeting as a defect that goes contrary to his expectations regarding the team member's attitude toward work (line 335e). He justifies his evaluation by mentioning that the employee had been specifically conditioned for the appointment (line 335f). Finally, he stresses the importance of compliance by mentioning his strong emotional reaction to the situation (line 335g). His remarks are reinforced by his hand gestures (lines 335c-f). The listener signals intense attentiveness by constant gaze throughout the stanza. The narrator's use of the term "colleague" when he refers to his subordinate draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation. The described scenario draws on the normative dimension of the institution of economy, and its extension professionalism. Also, the stanza instills in the listener the thought that the narrator takes it for granted that organizational rules do exist, that they are legitimate, and that compliance must be enforced, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of law, and its derivative notion of order, taking for granted that order is an end that "one" strives for.

STANZA 3 - ESTABLISHING REFLECTION AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Showing index finger (N)	Touching/tapping head (N)
335h	N	then he wrote me an email / totally intimidated /	x	x		x				x
335i	N	I say / come on over / and I say / close the door / sit down over there /	x	x		x	x			
335j	N	I have said / honestly I find this to be totally bollocks / we even talked about it / I say / think about it /	x	x	x		x		x	x

335k	N	<i>I say / if for one of those / of ten that were there / I would have had to name the one / who probably comes late / it would have been you / I say / now you have to think about what this says about you /</i>	x	x	x	x		x	x	
335l	N	<i>now you can decide for yourself / I don't care what X says / the worst that can happen is that I get into trouble with him / I say / but think about if for once / and so /</i>	x	x	x	x	x			

The stanza starts with the narrator mentioning his perception of the employee's feelings after the non-compliance event described in the previous stanza, highlighting the involvement of affect in this situation (line 335h). The narrator takes it for granted that he is the one (i.e., with corresponding power) who sets the stage and takes the lead for solving the conflict with the employee (line 335i). By the use and triple repetition of the term "think" he emphasizes that it is important to instill reflection in non-compliant employees (lines 335j-l). He accompanied his remarks with hand gestures (lines 335h-i, 335k-l), nodding (line 335k), showing his index finger (line 335j-k), and tapping his forehead (lines 335h, 335j). The listener signaled his affirmation with nodding (lines 335i-j, 335l). The stanza instilled in the listener the notion that the narrator presumed that making employees reflect on their organizational commitment leads to insight and, in consequence, to future compliance, establishing reflection as a value. At the same time, the narrator takes it for granted that striving for improvement, in other words, progress, is normal, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its derivative notion of success. The listener also perceived the narrator as valuing equality, as an interpretation of the intimate pronoun "du" that he used when addressing the employee, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship (in its wider sense), and its derivative notion of affiliation. Finally, the narrator takes his power position for granted, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of polity.

STROPHE 3 - EVALUATION

Here the narrator continues to establish his value system.

STANZA 4 - ESTABLISHING BONDING AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward/back (N)	Showing index finger (N)	Crossing arms (N)
335m	N	and then I also slap him on the back afterwards /	x	x		x				
335n	N	and then is / so it / I / I notice / I create a good conversation atmosphere /	x	x	x		x	x		
335o	N	in which my counterpart always knows / he can explain himself / he must also be able to defend himself /	x	x		x	x		x	
335p	N	and he must / and he knows / he will leave / and then it is ok /	x	x	x	x	x			
335q	N	I notice that / I notice this resonance /	x	x		x		x		x
335r	N	then that is for me / and then I also notice / (it is) ok /	x	x	x					x

The narrator starts the stanza stating his way of bonding with his subordinate even by way of physical contact during the follow up meeting with this team member (line 335m), as is appropriate in his culture as an expression of appreciation. He then described the characteristics of the affective atmosphere that he created, relying on the assumption that building a safe environment for his subordinates is necessary and thus understandable in order to build trust (lines 335n-r). He emphasizes his remarks by hand gestures (lines 335m, 335o-q), body posture (line 335n, 335q-r), and showing his index finger (line 335o). The listener signals his agreement by nodding (lines 335n-p). The stanza instills in the listener the notion that the narrator established bonding as a value and reinforced affiliation as a component of his management style. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STANZA 5 - ESTABLISHING HUMANENESS AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Crossing arms (N)
335s	N	<i>because I have experienced it differently many times / and these mistakes /</i>	x	x	x		x			x
335t	N	<i>I come from a completely different position /</i>	x	x	x	x				x
335u	N	<i>I have always had the feeling / so / having been under pressure myself /</i>	x	x	x			x	x	x
335v	N	<i>although my parents never gave me pressure / (they) only said /</i>	x	x	x				x	
335w	N	<i>I was also always defensive / when someone (called me) to a conversation / so / so this / in front of the authority / and / quickly bending /</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x		
335x	N	<i>and I promised to myself / if you find yourself in this situation at any point in time /</i>	x	x	x	x				
335y	N	<i>in parentheses / having power /</i>	x	x				x		
335z	N	<i>then you want to do things differently /</i>	x	x		x				

The narrator starts the stanza with a hint towards his definition of bad leadership, i.e., not providing social support, and he does not want to make "these mistakes", presuming that power is traditionally abused (line 335s). He refers to his primary socialization, and how this shaped how he thought about authority (lines 335t-w). He ends the stanza by stating that he wants to "make things different" now that he is in a position of power himself (lines 335x-z). He stresses his remarks by hand gestures (lines 335t, 335w-x, 335z), body posture (lines 335s-u, 335w, 335y), and shrugging his shoulders (line 335u-v). The listener affirms his agreement by nodding (lines 335s, 335w). In the perception of the listener the narrator believes that it is understandable that he as a first-generation executive wants to do things differently, i.e., the humane way, thereby establishing humaneness as a value. The stanza instills in the listener the notion that humaneness is a component of the narrator's management style, drawing on the normative dimension of the institution of polity but influenced by the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STANZA 6 - ESTABLISHING EFFECTIVENESS AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (L)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head (N)
335aa	N	<i>because I am deeply convinced / that it can be done differently /</i>	x	x	x		x			
335ab	N	<i>and that it produces better results /</i>	x	x		x		x	x	
335ac	N	<i>and be it only for the reason that colleagues get a little out of their defense / and so /</i>	x	x	x	x				
335ad	N	<i>and that / that works a hundred percent /</i>	x	x				x		x

With the use of the adverb "deeply" the narrator starts the stanza with strongly expressing his conviction that solidarity is a viable concept in management practice (line 335aa). He does so while the listener is still under the impression from the previous stanza that solidarity establishes humaneness, but now he elaborates the effects of solidarity further towards economic efficiency, explaining that it produces "better results" (335ab). He illustrates how his practice works, namely by making colleagues get out of their defensive attitude (line 335ac), asserting that this practice always works (line 335ad). The narrator emphasizes his remarks by hand gestures (line 335aa), nodding (line 335ab), and shaking the head (line 335ad). The listener acknowledges the narrator's remarks by hand gestures (lines 335ab-ac), and nodding (line 335ab, 335ad). With the last two stanzas the narrator established the positive social and economic merits of his management style, constituting effectiveness as a value. In the perception of the listener the narrator presumes that striving for effectiveness is something that is understandable, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of success.

STANZA 7 - ESTABLISHING COMPETENCY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (L)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward/back (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
335ae	N	<i>of course I must also be measured against my results /</i>	x	x		x				
335af	N	<i>so / that's clear / if / if this is only a joke here / for that matter it is of course a profession in which we are moving here /</i>	x	x	x	x			x	x
335ag	N	<i>and / and / that's clear / this is not theater here /</i>	x	x				x		
335ah	N	<i>so I do follow up / and see / verify / has this been effective / or not / clear /</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	
335ai	N	<i>if one earns oneself the reputation / oh with him / he is a pushover / and he / so / that is not the case / right /</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	
335aj	N	<i>though / also with competency / or /</i>	x	x						

By the use of the word "must" in the first line of the stanza the narrator expresses his taken for granted belief that he has to comply with economic norms (line 335ae). He elaborates his point in the next lines with his expression "clear", which he utters three times (lines 335af-ah). He stresses his point with terms that express the antipode of economic effectiveness, i.e., a joke (line 335af), the theater (line 335ag), a pushover (line 335ai), and contrasts them with the term competence (line 335aj). He emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures (lines 335ah-ai), body posture (lines 335af, 335ah-ai), and shrugging his shoulders (line 335af). The listener signals his agreement with hand gestures (lines 335ae-af), and nodding (lines 335ag-ai). In this stanza the narrator draws from the different institutional dimensions of work. As an executive employee there is the contractual and therewith regulative expedience to act in the best interest of the organization. As a journalist he has a normative obligation towards his profession. He makes clear that he takes these obligations serious and that he implements them by following up on the results of his measures. At the same time, on the cognitive level, he takes it for granted that organizations do have rules, norms and corresponding expectations towards employees. He cherishes "competency"

as a value to comply with the rules and meet the regulative and normative expectations.

STANZA 8 - ESTABLISHING MASTERY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)
335ak	N	concerning the interaction in conversations /	x	x		x	
335al	N	I see virtually sometimes / there is sitting someone /	x	x	x	x	
335am	N	and then I think / this guy will leave / or / already during the conversation / I notice / something is going on here /	x	x		x	x
335an	N	maybe this sounds a little / I don't know how you / I do not want to give the impression that /	x	x	x	x	
335ao	N	I don't perceive myself as a hotshot /	x	x	x	x	
335ap	N	rather it is for me / almost / I am happy about this / that it works /	x	x		x	x

The narrator starts the stanza by orienting the listener about the topic he is going to talk about, i.e., interaction with subordinates (line 335ak). By interpreting and evaluating an exemplary interaction scene he expresses his awareness of this interaction (lines 335al-am). Then he steps out of the description of the scene in order to maintain his identity as a professional, and to refute any possible interpretations on the listener's side with regard to swaggering (lines 335an-ao). He closes with an affective statement expressing his happiness about the effectiveness of his management style (line 335ap). He stresses his remarks with hand gestures (lines 335ak-ap), and the listener signals his understanding by nodding (lines 335am, 335ap). Here the narrator talks again about his effectiveness in connecting with his subordinates, even in emotional terms ("I am happy about this", line 335ap). In the perception of the listener the narrator relies on the cognition that striving for effectiveness is understandable and normal. At the same time the narrator establishes (social) mastery of management as a value. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

STANZA 9 - ESTABLISHING AUTHENTICITY AS A VALUE

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)	Shaking head (N)
335aq	N	<i>but I am also happy for me / that I have the possibility / obviously / for whatever reason / the ability / to get things moving in that regard /</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x
335ar	N	<i>this makes me completely / this makes / this is meaning / and it makes me completely happy /</i>	x	x		x	x		x
335as	N	<i>that is / there I am totally with myself /</i>	x	x		x	x		
335at	N	<i>with this I also know / I can do this /</i>	x		x				

The narrator starts the stanza with an affective statement about his ability to "move things" with regard to his management (line 335aq). He juxtaposes the statement "that makes sense" with "that makes me happy" (line 335ar), instilling in the listener the notion that the narrator equals the presence of MW with a sense of happiness. In the next line the narrator (in the perception of the listener) conveys his personal concept of self-actualization to the listener, that is, to live an authentic life (line 335as). For the listener the narrator values authenticity, and relies on the cognition that self-actualization is a normal endeavor in his culture. In the last line the narrator suggests that for him there is a connection between MW and the things he is able to do, in other words, MW is work that can be done, as opposed to work that can only be imagined or dreamed of (line 335at), drawing on economic effectiveness. The narrator stresses his remarks with the help of hand gestures (lines 335aq-as), body posture (line 335aq), and shaking the head (lines 335aq-ar). The listener signals empathy by nodding (lines 335aq-as). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

STANZA 10 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward/back (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Shaking head (N)
335au	N	<i>and there is also / without me / this has to do with / there you could ask everybody / I think / that is not at all the issue /</i>	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
335av	N	<i>but that I stay grounded anyhow /</i>	x	x						
335aw	N	<i>I am not the boss here / rather / of course I am the boss / in this sense / but / eye level /</i>	x	x	x	x	x			x
335ax	N	<i>I am a huge advocate of modesty /</i>	x	x	x	x	x			
335ay	N	<i>I like to praise others / less so myself /</i>	x	x		x		x		
335az	N	<i>even if this appeared different at one or the other point during this interview / perhaps a little /</i>	x	x		x		x		
335aaa	N	<i>I do not want to praise myself / rather I want to explain to you what happens /</i>	x	x		x		x	x	

In the perception of the listener the narrator starts this last stanza with stepping outside of the story by encouraging external evaluation of his remarks in order to establish credibility (line 335au). The narrator then provides a bird's eye evaluation of the chapter summarizing it with the terms "staying grounded" (line 335av), "eye level" (line 335aw), and "modesty" (line 335ax), as his understanding and recipe for MW within the scope of his identity as a solidary boss (line 335aw). The evaluation is followed by a justification of potential notions of the narrator's showing-off that might have been instilled in the notion of the listener (lines 335az-335aaa). The narrator emphasized his remarks by hand gestures (lines 335au, 335aw-aaa), body posture (lines 335ay-335aaa), shrugging shoulders (lines 335au, 335aaa), and shaking his head (lines 335au, 335aw). The listener affirmed the narrator's remarks by nodding (lines 335au, 335aw-ax). The stanza instilled in the listener the notion that the narrator took it for granted that the striving for equality, in other words solidarity, is comprehensible in his society. The

stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation. The central topic of the chapter emerges at this point as the Solidary Executive.

Summary

In verbal and non-verbal interaction with the listener the narrator reconstructed MW by telling The Story of the Philosopher Executive. He used rhetorical elements to build his story, like negotiation, orientation, narratives, evaluations, and justifications. He used elevated professional language, but in an informal, sometimes intimate style (e.g., by using swearwords and contractions¹⁰ like the German "ne" instead of "eine"), which instilled in the listener the impression that overall the narrator established his social identity as an upper middle class professional, who signals his connectedness and solidarity with the working class by using informal elements of speech. Finally, the narrator reconstructed his value system by drawing from institutions like economy, kinship, religion, polity, and law. In its entirety The Story of the Philosopher Executive reconstructs MW in social interaction with the listener, drawing from linguistic and cultural-cognitive institutional resources in context.

4.1.2 The Story of the Guardian

Narrator Charlie is 53 years old, married, and the father of two children at the time of the interview. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life with the exception of temporary humanitarian assignments and vocational trainings in foreign countries. As a first generation university student he studied physics. Shortly before graduating from college he started at Aachener Zeitung, Germany, as a freelancing editor, and was later hired as a journalist. Since then he worked his way up the organizational hierarchy, and today he is the Managing Director of the Medienhaus corporation.

In capturing the main story theme that the narrator conveys, its title has been chosen employing an utterance of the narrator in his first stanza, saying that newspaper employees have the function of guardians of the constitution (line

¹⁰ (Gee, 2015:131)

69). The narrator organized the story of the guardian into two theme strophes, i.e., significance and relevance. The narrator does not talk directly about MW, nevertheless he reconstructs it in the process of storytelling in response to the listener's request to describe an event that illustrates the meaningfulness of the organization (as mentioned in the chapter on Methodology the listener often asked questions from different angles and/or indirectly in order to trigger MW construction). The story starts at 15:20min into the interview. The story draws heavily from the institution of economy and its extension journalism, and from the institution of polity and its extension, the state. Work is meaningful if it allows the narrator to enact his identity as a guardian of both.

STROPHE 1 – SIGNIFICANCE

The main theme of the strophe is significance. In the reconstruction of MW the narrator employs the linguistic elements of orientation, complication, and evaluation to construct the fabric of his story. He makes use of a contrast to make a point. He also draws on cultural resources, from which he derives values.

STANZA 1 - ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Rocking (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
69a	N	so / the / the / the meaning of the company / derives from its mandate / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x	x	x		x	
69b	N	we are a media house /	x	x						
69c	N	and we derive our mandate from the constitution / {L: mmh /}	x	x		x	x		x	
69d	N	and the constitution gives us / in a way / * a guard function / if you will /	x	x	x	x				
69e	N	so / we have the task / to influence the democratic structures in this country / in such a way /	x	x	x					
69f	N	that it helps people / forming an opinion / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x		x			

69g	N	and an opinion / which is detached from the opinion of the / the political rulers / (as) purported (by them) ** {L: mmh /}	x	x		x	x	x		x
69h	N	and that is that / that is our mandate /	x		x	x				
69i	N	and that is an important mandate /	x	x						x
69j	N	because it contributes in such a way / that this whole community life / works / in this regard / {L: mmh /}	x	x			x			
69k	N	this mark we try to achieve /	x		x					

In stanza 1 the narrator orients the listener towards the purpose of the organization, which is derived from an external source, namely the German constitution (lines 69a-c). He uses the social terms "mandate", "constitution", "guard function", "task", "country", "opinion", "rulers", "important", and "community life" (lines 69a, 69c-69j), therewith constituting the prevalent core of this stanza, which draws on the regulative dimension of the institution of polity, and its extension, the state. In the given context the words "we", "us", and "our" (lines 69b-e, 69h, 69k) establish a unity of identity, i.e., organizational commitment (Wiener, 1982), between the organization and its employees, implying that the constitutional mandate of the organization also applies to its members, thus making any contribution of the employees towards the implementation of the mandate meaningful through compliance. With the stanza the narrator establishes compliance as a value, but also the social identity and significance of his job as an executive, with corresponding fiduciary duties, who is personally responsible for encouraging and enforcing such compliance. The narrator accompanies his utterances with hand gestures (lines 69a, 69c-d, 69g-h), nodding (line 69g), body posture (69a, 69c), and shrugging shoulders (lines 69g, 69i). The listener acknowledges the narrator's remarks with nodding (lines 69a, 69c, 69f-g, 69j), and non-lexical utterances (lines 69a, 69c, 69f-g, 69j). Notwithstanding that the stanza draws prevalingly on the regulative dimension of the institution of polity, and its extension, the state, as described above, it rests upon the cognitive dimension of the institution of polity, because the narrator takes it for granted that organizational members identify with the constitutional mandate and comply with it, in other words, he takes for granted that the organizational members regard the regulative institution of polity as a given.

STANZA 2 - COMPLICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
69l	N	<i>because it is also very difficult /</i>	x		x	x		
69m	N	<i>because we have to achieve this with our own means / we do not want government aid / we also don't get government aid /</i>	x	x	x	x		x
69n	N	<i>that means / that on one side we have a clear mandate / from the constitution / but /</i>	x	x			x	
69o	N	<i>on the other side / however / we have to operate completely normal as a company /</i>	x	x			x	x
69p	N	<i>because we do have to fund ourselves / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x			x	

With the use of a contrast the narrator expresses how difficult it is for newspapers to balance the constitutional mandate with commercial necessities, thereby further establishing the significance of his job as an executive. It is typical that newspaper executives need to think both journalistically and commercially. Accordingly, the narrator introduces profit-orientation as another value for newspapers and, via organizational commitment as explained in stanza 1, as a value for himself. The narrator illustrates his remarks with hand gestures (lines 69l-m), and shrugging his shoulders (lines 69m, 69o). The listener affirms the narrator's remarks with nodding (lines 69n-p), and a verbal utterance (line 69p). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

STANZA 3 - EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
69q	N	<i>and that is an exciting project /</i>	x	x		x				

69r	N	<i>but the meaning that we have / that is purported by the constitution /</i>		x	x	x	x			x
69s	N	that we have an opinion-forming task /		x	x	x			x	
69t [70]	N	<i>that I regard as a very / very important task /</i> [L: mmh / ok /]	x	x		x		x		

In stanza 3 the narrator evaluates the purpose of the newspaper, and therewith the meaning of the work of all the organizational members, describing it with an affective term ("exciting", line 69q), and a qualifier ("important", line 69t), thereby emphasizing its significance for him. He emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures (line 69r), nodding (line 69s), and shrugging his shoulders (line 69r). The listener acknowledges his remarks with nodding (line 69t), and a non-lexical and lexical utterance (line 70). The stanza instills in the listener the notion that for the narrator it is normal and required to be aware of the constitutional mandate, and he considers corresponding contributions to it as constitutive of MW. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of polity.

STROPHE 2 – RELEVANCE

In strophe 2 the narrator employs the linguistic elements of orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda. He also makes use of auxiliary linguistic means like parallelism. The main theme of the strophe is relevance, expressed by drawing on cultural cognitions.

The listener asked the narrator to narrate about potential areas of meaninglessness in the organization. In his response the narrator instilled in the listener the notion of relevance in the sense of being closely connected to something or appropriate. Accordingly, the narrator reconstructed MW not only with establishing the significance of work (strophe 1), but also with establishing its relevance (strophe 2) in the sense that work also has to be appropriate and connected with its immediate social environment, i.e., the organization, the colleagues, and the "clientele".

STANZA 4 - PARALLEL COMPLICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Shaking head (N)
71a	N	<i>the meaninglessness / it / so / so / in such a polarizing way / I can separate this only with difficulty / {L: mmh /}</i>	x		x	x	
71b	N	<i>but we / we ask ourselves / of course / or / I ask myself the meaning question always when /</i>	x		x	x	
71c	N	<i>I observe / (or when) one is under the impression /</i>	x	x	x		
71d	N	<i>that the work / that one performs / is / under circumstances / not even noticed anymore / by the society for which one performs it / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x			x

In this stanza the storyteller takes it for granted that the organization derives its purpose, and therewith the purpose of the work executed in that organization, from the external world, i.e., society. The stanza adds a new level of complexity in that it introduces a disconnect between society and the organization and its members. The narrator installs recognition as a value. He stresses his remarks with hand gestures (lines 71a-b), and shaking the head (line 71d). The listener signals attentiveness with continuous gaze and agreement with non-lexical utterances (lines 71a, 71d). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship (i.e., kinship in its wider sense, relating to fellow citizens).

STANZA 5 - PARALLEL EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Shaking head (N)
71e	N	<i>if one looks at these / these developments in the media sector / then I do not think that we have a crisis of the print media /</i>	x	x		x					
71f	N	<i>nowhere in the world /</i>	x	x						x	x

71g	N	<i>I simply believe / that we have a societal crisis /</i>	x	x		x				x	
71h	N	<i>that many times that / what really concerns value systems and the like /</i>		x	x	x		x			
71i	N	<i>a / a less and less / a / a / for many people / they don't play a role anymore /</i>		x	x		x	x			
71j	N	<i>and if this is indeed the case / then / then one asks oneself / of course /</i>		x	x				x		
71k	N	<i>what am I even working for / {L: yes /}</i>		x	x						

Here the narrator refers to "believe" (line 71g), which expresses a belief of his, namely that newspapers should orient citizens towards what he thinks are societally necessary value systems (line 71h). He also uses the term "of course" (line 71j), referring to his belief that values are a necessity for people. For the narrator the meaning of work is lost if there is a disconnect between the newspaper's operations and society (lines 71j-71k). Also, in the last line of this stanza the narrator takes for granted that one must have something to work "for", in other words, relevance. The narrator emphasizes his remarks by hand gestures (line 71i), nodding (line 71j), and shaking the head (line 71f). The listener acknowledges the narrator's remarks with nodding (lines 71h-i), and a verbal utterance (line 71k). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of morality.

STANZA 6 - PARALLEL ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
71l	N	<i>we / we / with (all) our newspapers / that we had in the past / we once stood for very distinct value orientations / for very distinct credos /</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	
71m	N	<i>we had / from the political stance / slightly conservative / with the blue newspaper at least / slightly conservative /</i>	x	x		x			
71n	N	<i>up to really a creed / for / for the roman-catholic church / we had everything in there /</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x
71o	N	<i>and therewith we also gave a / clear / a clientele that we had in society / an orientation /</i>	x	x	x	x			

Here the narrator orients the listener further into his story by describing the value system that was represented by the newspaper in former times. He presumes that the newspaper's "clientele" had a need for "orientation" towards that value system that he believes was absolute and based on 'the truth'. Therewith he establishes the orientation of readers (towards value systems) as something that has value. (In this stanza we have to differentiate between the narrator's orientation towards the story and the value orientation that newspapers provide for their readers.) The narrator stresses his remarks with hand gestures (lines 71l-m, 71o), nodding (lines 71l, 71n), and shrugging his shoulders (line 71n). The listener expresses his empathy with nodding (lines 71l, 71n). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education, and its derivative notion of truth.

STANZA 7 - FURTHER COMPLICATION AND EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Frowning (N)
71p	N	we had to rearrange in a more and more broad sense /	x	x						
71q	N	and meanwhile it is harder for us / to provide this orientation /	x	x						
71r	N	because we believe / that the values that we stand for / * that they find less and less hearing /	x	x				x		
71s	N	one notices that / one notices it with many things / that * all that / which this society is * based on / the foundation / * crumbles /	x	x	x	x				x
71t	N	when we are traveling / when I am / when I look / who is still willing to get involved in this society / today /	x	x	x	x	x		x	
71u	N	that is / there are always less people /	x	x	x	x	x			
71v	N	and then you ask yourself indeed the meaning question /	x	x			x			
71w	N	and say / hey listen / what are we actually doing this for / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x		x		x	

In this stanza the narrator states that economic necessities have forced newspapers to diversify (line 71p), which made it more difficult for them to concentrate on the orientation of their readers (line 71q). These statements suggest that the narrator takes it for granted that newspaper readers need value orientation, a belief, which is not inevitable, because it is thinkable that readers are sufficiently educated to make value assumptions themselves. As a result, line 71p draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, while line 71q instills in the listener the notion that the narrator draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of journalism. The narrator then laments the loss of traditional values (lines 71r-u), which he equals with the loss of meaningfulness of his work (lines 71v-w). With the hypothetical direct speech unit "listen, what are we actually doing this for?" the narrator reflects on the relevance of his professional engagement given the loss of connection with his readers (line 71w). In the perception of the listener the tone of the narrator's voice reveals a strong affection, i.e., resignation, giving an indication that emotions are induced by MW reconstruction. The narrator emphasizes his remarks by hand gestures (lines 71s-u), body posture (line 71r), shrugging shoulders (lines 71t, 71w), and frowning (line 71s). The listener signals agreement by nodding (lines 71t-w), and a non-lexical utterance (line 71w). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institutions of economy (particularly in line 71p), polity (particularly in line 71s), and education.

STANZA 8 - PARALLEL COMPLICATION AND EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)
71x	N	this is less about / that we are selling less printed newspapers / or also / ** be it the Internet / but /	x	x	x	x	x	
71y	N	we just observe here that / many topics that we try to illuminate / which we try to bring a little closer to people /	x	x		x	x	
71z	N	and say / here / this is something important for you /	x	x		x	x	

71aa	N	<i>that / that is not finding any hearing / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x				
71ab	N	<i>that does not find any hearing / because this has become a very fast moving world / within which one does not even really reflect /</i>	x			x		
71ac	N	<i>and that results / to put it mildly / sometimes / in a little bit of frustration /</i>	x	x				x

Here the narrator adds complication and evaluation, drawing on the same linguistic and cultural resources as in the previous stanza. He also adds another emotional sign of resignation in the last line of the stanza to underline his discontent with the situation, which is perceived by the listener as a loss of work meaning for the narrator, due to the deprivation of relevance that has happened in the newspaper business over the last years. The narrator stresses his remarks with hand gestures (lines 71x-z), while the listener signals empathy by nodding (line 71ac), and a non-lexical utterance (line 71aa). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimensions of the institution of economy, and education.

STANZA 9 - RESOLUTION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)
71ad	N	<i>and then you ask yourself the meaning question / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		x	x
71ae	N	<i>I am not at the point / that I say / our work is meaningless / but /</i>	x		x		
71af	N	<i>I believe / that our work is currently losing meaning / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x	x	
71ag [72]	N	<i>and we do not know yet / how we can recover this meaning * / [L: yes / mmh /]</i>	x	x		x	x

Here the narrator talks explicitly about cognitions. He "believes" that the work in newspapers is losing meaning (line 71af), and he does not "know" yet how to regain it (line 71ag). The narrator emphasizes his remarks by nodding (lines 71ad, 71ag). The listener signals empathy by nodding (lines 71ad, 71af-ag), and a lexical and non-lexical utterance (line 72). The stanza instills in the listener the notion that the narrator draws on the cognitive dimension of the

institution of education, because it is normal to think that education is relevant to the readers of the newspaper, as established in the previous stanzas, and thus meaningful.

STANZA 10 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
73a	N	<i>this is / of course / not directly my / my personal work / it is rather the work of my company / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x	x	
73b [74]	N	<i>but if I understand my duty in helping / to align and steer this company / then this applies to me as well / of course / [L: right / yes /]</i>	x	x	x		x

Here the narrator returns from his narration to the present. He does so by referring back to his very first stanza, in which he intended to tell a story about the meaningfulness of the organization, but in his last stanza he makes clear that his story was in parallel also referring to his particular job and therewith about MW. He stresses his remarks with a hand gesture (line 73a) and shrugging his shoulders (line 73b). The listener signals agreement by a non-lexical utterance (line 73a) and lexical affirmations (line 74). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, polity, and education.

4.1.3 The Story of the Influencer

Narrator Ben is 48 years old, married, and the father of two children at the time of the interview. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After graduation from High School (i.e., the German Abitur) he completed an apprenticeship as an industrial clerk. Upon graduating from his apprenticeship he worked for six years in the HR department of a pin factory. He started to work for Medienhaus in 1995 as a media consultant, then he became a team leader in 2010, and at the time of the study he was the deputy manager of the advertising department. His story is mainly focused on the social institution of economy and its derivative notion of efficiency. Work is meaningful if it allows

the narrator to enact his identity as an efficient influencer. The story starts at 32:19min into the interview. He organizes his story into the following strophes.

STROPHE 1 - MEANINGLESS WORK

In this strophe the narrator gives an account of an experience that instilled the notion of meaningless work in him.

STANZA 1 - ABSTRACT

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)
86a	N	<i>work is meaningless if there arises no benefit out of it for anybody / {L: yes /}</i>	x		x		x
86b	N	<i>or / where there is no social component / or responsibility behind it / {L: yes / exactly /}</i>	x		x	x	x

The narrator starts his story with a short abstract, providing the foundation for his subsequent considerations. In the first line he takes for granted that benefits should result from work, drawing on the social institution of economy. In the second line he adds social responsibility as something that should underlie work. He emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures (line 86b). The listener signals his agreement by nodding and verbal affirmations (lines 86a-b). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

STANZA 2 - ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)
86c	N	<i>yes / and I have an example * / well / I only have an example from my own vita /</i>	x	x	x	
86d	N	<i>where I really experienced meaninglessness / let's say / on the job / in quotation marks /</i>	x	x	x	
86e	N	<i>that was in the armed forces / {L: aha /} during my military service /</i>	x	x		x

86f	N	<i>there I got my truck driver license /</i>	x	x	x	
86g	N	<i>there / all the high school graduates / who were afterwards allocated to the transport battalions /</i>	x	x		
86h	N	<i>got their truck driver license during their basic training /</i>	x	x		

In this stanza the narrator oriented the listener towards an example of meaninglessness that he experienced not as an employee of Medienhaus, but as a soldier of the German Armed Forces, an occupation that he later on contrasts with his work at the Medienhaus (see stanza 6). In the perception of the listener he regards being a serviceman as a special form of working, expressed by the description of his service using a mental picture of setting the word workplace verbally in quotation marks (line 86d). He illustrates his account of this experience with the help of hand gestures (lines 86c-d, 86f), while the listener signals his empathy¹¹ by nodding (line 86e). The stanza instills in the listener the notion that the narrator takes it for granted that as a German citizen he had to comply with the regulative dimension of the institution of German law (i.e., the law of compulsory military service), but also with its normative dimension in the form of his social obligation to comply with the expectations of society, thus in its entirety it draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of law.

STANZA 3 - COMPLICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Rocking (N)	Shaking head (N)
86i	N	<i>and there we had to service /</i>	x	x			
86j	N	<i>I don't know / 40-year old trucks / {L: wow /}</i>	x	x			x
86k	N	<i>which actually only stood around there / and were actually over-serviced /</i>	x	x	x		
86l	N	<i>these we had to * besmear / with grease /</i>	x	x		x	
86m	N	<i>although it all oozed out already /</i>	x	x	x		x
86n	N	<i>only in order to / simply do it /</i>	x	x			

¹¹ The listener's ability to relate to the narrator's remarks is grounded on the listener's own experience as a soldier of the German Armed Forces, where he experienced a similar situation during his own truck-driver training.

The narrator describes a task the purpose of which was not understood by him at the time, expressed by the utterance "I don't know" (line 86j), because the demanded actions did not provide a positively experienced change in the physical state of the work object (e.g., improvement) (line 86m), the presence of which he seems to take for granted (in the listener's perception) as a matter of rationality. He did not mention the formation of skills as the purpose of the task, a fact that was contrary to the expectation of the listener under the circumstances, implying that the skill was very basic and it was not necessary to practice it. He takes for granted that the result of work must have notable consequences, in other words an impact, be it manifested in the change of the physical state of objects of the external world or in the formation of internal skills of the employee. The narrator stresses his remarks by hand gestures (lines 86k, 86m), body posture (line 86l), and shaking the head (lines 86j, 86m). The listener signals his attentiveness with continuous gaze and empathy by a non-lexical utterance (line 86j). The stanza is grounded on the regulative dimension of the institution of law (i.e., the coercive character of military service), its normative dimension (e.g., performance norms), and its cognitive dimension (i.e., taking it for granted that "one" complies with the law).

STANZA 4 - REINFORCEMENT

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down (N)	Leaning forward (N)	Shaking head (N)
86o	N	<i>and then there were transports / we drove some useless stuff across Germany / back and forth /</i>	x	x			x
86p	N	<i>just in order to / pass the week /</i>	x	x			
86q	N	<i>and learn how / maybe / one has to undertake a transport /</i>	x		x		
86r	N	<i>but that / one already knew after two transports / of course /</i>	x		x		
86s	N	<i>however / that was done then for 18 months / {L: oh /}</i>	x	x		x	
86t	N	<i>and stuff was transported / pointlessly /</i>	x	x			x

Here the narrator provides a reinforcement of the previous scenario, intensifying its implications. He emphasizes his remarks by body posture (line

86s), and shaking his head (lines 86o, 86t). The listener signals his empathy again by a non-lexical utterance (line 86s).

STANZA 5 - EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Frowning (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
86u	N	and that was the time / when I really thought /	x	x			x
86v	N	what / what is this for / why am I actually here /	x	x			
86w	N	these were 18 lost months for me /	x	x		x	
86x [87]	N	and there I did experience meaninglessness / [L: yes /]	x	x	x		

In this last stanza the narrator establishes rapport with the listener by switching to hypothetical direct speech (line 86v). He evaluates the scenario described in the two previous stanzas and comes to the conclusion that his military service was a considerable waste of time (line 86w), which he equals to meaninglessness (line 86x). He stresses his remarks by hand gestures (line 86x), frowning (line 86w), and shrugging shoulders (line 86u). The listener signals his understanding by an affirming lexical utterance (line 87). The stanza draws mainly on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of efficiency.

In his last utterance the narrator closes the strophe with the résumé that in the described scenario he experienced meaningless work.

STROPHE 2 - MEANINGFUL WORK

In this strophe the narrator gives a description of the circumstances that instill the notion of meaningful work in him.

STANZA 6 - CONTRAST & CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down/to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Leaning forward (N)
96b	N	as a team member of the whole media market / I can only say that /	x		x			
96c	N	that the products that we sell / or the consulting service that we sell / provide a benefit for our counterparts / in the end / {L: yes /}	x	x			x	x
96e	N	I see the meaning of my job / as the thing for which I have been hired for / of course /	x	x	x	x	x	
96f	N	to get the highest sales possible / out of my area / and out of my team /	x		x			

In this stanza the narrator contrasts the previous stanzas with his definition of MW, i.e., providing products and services that result in a benefit for customers and employer, considering his identity and corresponding obligation as deputy advertising manager to maximize sales revenue. He stresses his remarks by nodding (lines 96c, 96e), and body posture (96c). The listener signals his agreement with the narrator's remarks by nodding (line 96e), and a verbal confirmation (line 96c). The stanza draws on the regulative dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of employment (because the narrator identifies as an employee), but also on its normative dimension (e.g., implicit revenue norms). However, it is most of all grounded on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and employment, because it takes for granted that one has to comply with labor law and performance norms.

The story instills in the listener the notion that the narrator takes for granted that a constructive impact must be made to the object of work and/or one's skills, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

4.1.4 The Story of the Conformist

Narrator Carol is 47 years old at the time of the interview. She is married and has children. She is German and has lived in Germany most of her life, but

studied for a couple of years in the United States. As a first generation university graduate she earned a degree in economics. Before and after graduation she worked in the newspaper as an office clerk before she became a mother. Since five years she is back working for the newspaper as an office clerk.

The story starts at 29:01min into the interview, and was given in response to the listener's question: "Why do you work?" It is organized into seven stanzas. The researcher had to rely on audio recording for this interview, because video recording failed. Accordingly, there is no mention of non-verbal interaction in the following transcript. With telling her story the narrator establishes her identity as a conformist. Work is meaningful if it allows the narrator to enact this identity.

STANZA 1 - ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript
143a	N	<i>because * / I * / working is fun / {L: yes /}</i>
143b	N	<i>that is actually / that * / crystallized somehow /</i>
143c	N	<i>so / I must say ** / the origin / was societal pressure / let's say it that way /</i>
143d	N	<i>about five years ago / five and a half years ago / when I / only had the kids /</i>
143e	N	<i>and we lived there in our community / and all the women / by and by / all started working again /</i>
143f	N	<i>there I felt considerably * / put under pressure /</i>

In this first stanza the narrator orients the listener towards a situation that happened five years ago in her residential community. She states that social pressure was the reason why she returned to work after having been off work for many years raising her children. She attributed such social pressure to her observation of neighbor women returning to work, implying that they did so after raising their children. Her cognition that it is typical for women to return to work after raising their children instills an emotion in her: she feels pressured to do the same (line 143f). The listener signals his empathy with a lexical utterance (line 143a). The narrator infers the "normalness" of going back to

work from her observations of women in her neighborhood, drawing on the current version¹² of the institution of economy and employment in her reconstruction of MW. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of employment, in that it is carried by mimicry.

STANZA 2 - COMPLICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript
143e	N	<i>there / I had ** / it was not the case yet / that there was this motivation / which one experiences as a recognition / that was * / definitely not the case /</i>
143f	N	<i>it was rather this compulsion / or this pressure /</i>
143g	N	<i>which I / made myself /</i>
143h	N	<i>I thought gee / the others are all going again / now you have to do that as well /</i>

Here the narrator contrasts her assumption that workers usually regard work that provides them with recognition as meaningful (thus establishing recognition as a value) with her perception of the meaning of work as a way to mimic the behavior of others, thus establishing imitation as a value. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

STANZA 3 - EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript
143i	N	<i>then I did that / {L: aha /}</i>
143j	N	<i>and then I noticed how great it is / [N: <laughing> /] {L: yes /}</i>

In this stanza the narrator states how much delight she felt as a result of mimicking the behavior of her neighbors and conforming to the perceived social pressure of returning to work after childcare. In other words, a strong emotion of happiness was derived from a cultural cognition (Loseke & Kusenbach, 2008). She reaffirms imitation as a value. The listener signals his empathy with non-lexical and lexical utterances. Also this stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

¹² Social institutions are constantly reconstructed in social interaction and change over time (DiMaggio, 1988).

STANZA 4 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript
143k	N	yes / then ** / I changed that / {L: yes /}
143l [144a]	N	so the / this / this initial cause / or * / yes / why I started working (again) / that is * / not anymore / not existent anymore / of course / because now I am working / <laughing> / [L: yes /]

Here the narrator closes the narrative by mentioning that what made work meaningful for her in the context of returning to work is different from what makes work meaningful for her now that she is working steadily in her current job as an office clerk. The narrator instills in the listener the notion that she takes it for granted that the meaning of work can change according to different life situations. She also conveys the thought that what makes work meaningful for someone who returns to work can be different from what makes work meaningful for someone who is in a different work life stage. The listener signals his empathy with affirmative utterances. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

At this point the listener intended to trigger further elaboration of the story by asking another question.

STANZA 5 - EXTENDED EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript
144b	L	what kind of pressure did you sense there ** / from where did this pressure come from / which you /
145a	N	it came out of myself / just / it was just me / who had / put myself under pressure /
145b	N	so / I observed it / with others /
145c	N	I thought / * bummer * / <laughing> /
145d	N	that's what you want / that's what you must do too / now you are also obliged /

The narrator returns to her social identity as a residential community member and repeats that the pressure that she felt at that time was fully instilled by herself, triggered by her observations of other women returning to work. She

conceived the observation as bothering (line 145c), and as obligating her to return to work (line 145d). She takes it for granted that it is normal to be bothered by social pressure, but that one is obliged to conform. The stanza draws from the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of employment, by taking for granted that corresponding norms have to be conformed with. Work is meaningful for the worker who conforms.

STANZA 6 - EXTENDED CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript
145e	N	and then I had / I thought / what a nonsense / actually you do not have to /
145f	N	but / I don't know ** / {L: mmh /}
145g	N	then I started applying (for a job) anyway / or / calling my ** friend / and yes / [N: <laughing> /] {L: yes /}
145h	N	that's how it happened /

In the first line of the stanza the narrator reports that she reflected on the situation and that she came up with the conclusion that actually she does not have to return to work. Nevertheless, due to her cultural cognitions unknown to her (line 145f: "I don't know"), she started applying for the job anyway. She closes the stanza with the statement "and that's how it happened", waiting for turn-taking. The listener signals his empathy with non-lexical (line 145f) and lexical utterances (line 145g). The listener still wanted some more elaboration in order to allow for more insight into the cognition of societal pressure. Therefore he intended to ask another corresponding question, but was interrupted by the narrator:

STANZA 7 - EXTENDED CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript
146	L	yes / I mean / besides that /
147a	N	from the outside there was nothing at all / nothing at all / {L: mmh /}
147b	N	so / everybody said / just do whatever you want / it doesn't matter / {L: yes /} but * / <hissing> / {L: mmh /}

In this last stanza on the subject of societal pressure the narrator returns to the listener's previous question about the origin of the pressure that urged her to return to work. She states there was no pressure from the external world, rather the people she talked to suggested she should do whatever she wanted to do. Therewith she provides support for the listener's interpretation that going back to work after childcare was based on a cultural cognition that was underlying the community norm. In other words, a societal norm was enacted by the narrator in an individual act of knowing. The listener signals his empathy with non-lexical and lexical utterances. In the end the narrator took a decision based on a cultural cognition, instilled by her interaction consisting of observation and speech acts, with members of her residential community, thereby reconstructing the meaningfulness of work.

4.1.5 The Story of the Educator

Narrator Ken is 44 years old and single at the time of the interview. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. During the Internet hype at the end of the nineties he dropped out of college and started an online agency and worked for a couple of newspapers as an editor, both in the print world and online. In 2007 he became an online editor at Aachener Zeitung.

At 29 Minutes into the interview the narrator mentioned his belief that his work of informing people is meaningful, establishing his identity as an educator. At this point the listener asked the narrator to elaborate on this belief. The story consists of two strophes, namely significance and relevance.

STROPHE 1 - SIGNIFICANCE

In the following six stanzas the narrator establishes significance for his work. For him, work is meaningful if it is significant, in other words, if it has a (positive experienced) impact on the life of others. In his view his work has such an impact on others, thus it is significant, and therewith meaningful. The narrator makes use of various linguistic elements, like abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda. He also uses stylistic means like judgment, exaggeration and ridicule. He also draws on cultural cognitions like charity and rationality.

STANZA 1 - ABSTRACT

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)
108a	N	<i>because an uninformed person / is a / <chuckling> / worse person /</i>	x	x	x	
108b	N	<i>a person / who makes / under circumstances / wrong decisions /</i>	x	x	x	
108c	N	<i>who / forms wrong / or incomplete opinions /</i>	x	x	x	
108d	N	<i>at times I see / the / the kinds of absurd / opinions and beliefs that people have / who are not informed /</i>	x	x	x	x

In this first stanza the narrator gives an abstract of his narrative, which illustrates the significance of his work, and therewith establishes the notion of its meaningfulness. The abstract starts with an exaggerated moral judgment: people who are uninformed are worse people (line 108a). The narrator then conveys the notion that decision-making is important to him, and that it must be based on rationality. The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108d). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education, and its derivative notion of truth.

STANZA 2 - ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side (N)	Nodding (L)	Scratching head (N)
108e	N	<i>so / recently we had a longer discussion on our facebook page / with a chemtrail believer /</i>	x	x	x	x	
108f	N	<i>who was under the solid impression / that in these white things / those stripes on the horizon / in the sky above us / that there is poison in there /</i>	x	x	x	x	
108g	N	<i>which some dark powers / want to spit down on us /</i>	x	x	x		
108h	N	<i>and / any person with a decent amount of education / will / will laugh about that /</i>	x	x	x	x	x

Here the narrator orients the listener towards the narrative about chemtrail-believers that he is going to tell. In doing so he establishes the purpose of the

narrative, which is to establish significance. The narrator instills the notion of significance in the listener by giving an example that he supposes to illustrate how irrational uninformed people can think, implying that it is an important task to contribute to people's education. He emphasizes his assessment of chemtrail people by ridiculing their beliefs (line 108g). He takes it for granted that he is an educated person and that educating people is meaningful. He values education, drawing on rationality. The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108e-f, 108h). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education.

STANZA 3 - COMPLICATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
108i	N	he would also laugh about anti-vaxxers /	x	x		x		
108j	N	because he knows / how scientifically meaningful / and life-saving / vaccinations can be /	x	x		x		x
108k	N	but if someone believes / I will be injected with some kind of chemical / I don't want that / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x	x		
108l	N	due to a lack of education / and a lack of information /	x	x	x			x
108m	N	or because he rejects the information /	x	x		x		
108n	N	because he thinks / this is all lies anyway / {L: mmh /} issued by the evil fake-news /	x		x	x	x	

Here the narrator further complicates the narrative by introducing the topic of immunizations as a further example of the irrational and ridiculous results of a lack of information. He also gives an indication of his assumption that newspapers typically provide true information. He takes it for granted that his work is meaningful because it contributes to the education of people. He stresses his remarks by body posture (lines 108n), and shrugging his shoulders (line 108j, 108l). The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108i-k, 108m-n), and non-lexical utterances (lines 108k, 108n). Also this stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education.

STANZA 4 - EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Shaking head (N)
108o	N	well / he will make wrong decisions /	x	x		x	x
108p	N	and make dumb decisions / {L: mmh /}	x		x	x	

Here the narrator justifies why he picked that particular narrative, and why it was worth telling (i.e., he wants to prevent people from irrational decisions). By doing so he establishes an additional element of his value system in the context of his job, namely prudence. He takes for granted that it makes sense to help others. He draws on rationality and charity. He stresses his remarks by shaking his head (line 108o). The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108o-p), and a non-lexical utterance (lines 108p). Also this stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education.

STANZA 5 - RESOLUTION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Rocking (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Raising eyebrows (N)
108q	N	therefore it is a / a good / beneficial / and / salutary task / I think / to inform people /	x	x		x	x		
108r	N	they can still decide / that they don't want my information / that this is all to leftist / rightist for them / {L: mmh /} whatsoever / distorted / twisted / or whatever /	x	x	x	x		x	x

Here the narrator explains how the narrative contributes to the significance of his job and therewith implies a notion of meaningfulness in the listener. Within the scope of his job he provides other people with the means to make prudent decisions, and in his opinion they can do so deliberately. In stating that readers can decide deliberately he presumes that they are rational beings, not influenced by the external nor the internal world, and able to detect political

tendencies in newspaper texts. He values agency and draws on rationality. He stresses his remarks by body posture (lines 108q), shrugging his shoulders (line 108r), and raising his eyebrows (line 108r). The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108q-r), and a non-lexical utterance (line 108r). Also this stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education.

STANZA 6 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Rocking (N)
108s	N	<i>but I think / the one who completely ** detaches / or cuts himself off / from our world of information /</i>	x	x	x	x		
108t [109]	N	<i>has a / makes a big mistake / [L: mmh / yes /]</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x

Here the narrator closes the narrative with an evaluation. He regards disinformation as a mistake, taking it for granted that it makes sense to avoid mistakes. He values information and draws on rationality. He stresses his remarks by body posture (line 108t), and nodding (line 108t). The listener signals understanding by nodding (line 108s-t), and non-lexical and lexical utterances (line 109). Also this stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education.

STROPHE 2 - RELEVANCE

At 56:23min into the interview the listener asks the question: "Why do you work". The narrator responds by adding relevance as another dimension of his MW story. He makes use of the linguistic elements of orientation, evaluation, and coda. He also uses stylistic means like reflection, explanations and contrasts. He also draws on cultural cognitions like charity and professionalism.

STANZA 7 - ORIENTATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up/side (N)	Nodding (L)	Rocking (N)
166a	N	<laughing> / because / on the one side / my life must have a meaning / {L: mmh /}	x		x	x	x
166b	N	which must not only consist of / that I provide for myself / happiness / money / and food / rather /	x		x	x	
166c	N	for I / well / I want to do something / which *** / how shall I phrase this / for I want to do something / in my work for the day /	x	x	x		x
166d	N	something constructive / meaningful /	x	x		x	

Here the narrator orients the listener by focusing on meaningfulness. While the provision of happiness, money, and food is a part of the meaningfulness of his work, he establishes another component: constructiveness. He stresses his remarks by body posture (lines 166a, 166c). The listener signals his understanding by nodding (lines 166a-b, 166d), and a non-lexical utterance (line 166a). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion (expressed in the phrase "something constructive", instilling the notion of the necessity of a transcendent telos).

In the following stanzas the narrator explains what he means with constructiveness. He takes for granted that his desire to construct (and thus striving for a telos) is something that is understandable.

STANZA 8 - EVALUATION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Rocking (N)
166e	N	also because / of course / I have to earn a living / which / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x	x		
166f	N	so / I do not only want to / get something / so / activity in the sense of how can I provide sustenance for myself /	x	x	x			x

166g	N	<i>rather</i> / I also want to give something / even something meaningful /	x	x	x	x	x	
166h	N	something / something / like I said in the beginning / something that makes the world a little better / {L: mmh /}	x	x	x	x		x

In this stanza the narrator contrasts giving and taking as the relevance dimension of his MW story. In doing so he relates to people who are impacted by his work, hence his work is relevant, and therewith meaningful. On the "giving" side he stands himself, as a person who wants to impact others with the benefits of his work. On the "receiving" side he sees "the world" that, by implication has a need for his work. He takes for granted that his work has a significant impact on himself and others, and that he has to reach out accordingly. He stresses his remarks by nodding (line 166g), and body posture (lines 166f, 166h). The listener signals his understanding by nodding (lines 166e, 166g-h), and non-lexical utterances (lines 166e, 166h). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of morality.

STANZA 9 - CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking up (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Shaking head (L)
166i	N	I sound very dreamy / I believe /	x		x		
166j	N	when I say something like this / <laughing> /	x		x		
167	L	no / not at all / <laughing> /	x		x	x	x

Here the narrator closes the strophe by reflecting over the bluntness of his narrative in the here and now as something to be ashamed about. He takes it for granted that idealistic notions are not appropriate in professional interactions. The listener assures to the contrary that he thought that the narrator's remarks were appropriate, and therewith (in his perception) helps the narrator to maintain face. The narrator accompanies his remarks by avoiding eye contact (lines 166i-167). The listener signals his empathy by shaking his head (line 167). The stanza draws on the normative dimension of

the institution of economy (e.g., behavioral norms in a professional interview setting), and on the cognitive dimension of the institution of education (i.e., the tacit awareness of the previous stanzas).

STANZA 10 - REFLECTION

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to side/down (N)	Nodding (L)	Leaning forward (N)
168a	N	<i>when I reflect about it / it sounds / because / it is so / so I /</i>	x		x		
168b	N	<i>if I / if I would be offered a better paid job / then /</i>	x		x		
168c	N	<i>by sealing / as mentioned / cigarette boxes /</i>	x	x			
168d	N	<i>then I do not want to do it / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x	x	x	
168e	N	<i>especially / also / because the work environment / would be less positive / and nice / compared to what I experience here / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x	x		
168f	N	<i>I / I / I do it because / because it / because it infuses my life with * meaning / because it gives me purpose /</i>	x		x	x	x
168g	N	<i>and / because it / also / feeds me / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x	x		

At this time the narrator added some thoughts to the last stanza after a pause without having been asked any question. He further reflects about meaningfulness in relation to himself and others, thereby emphasizing relevance as a dimension of his MW story. He stresses his remarks by body posture (lines 168f). The listener signals his understanding by nodding (lines 168d, 168f), and affirmative utterances (lines 168d-e, 168g). The stanza draws on the cognitive dimensions of the institutions of economy, kinship, and religion in that it takes working, affiliating, and the necessity of a telos for granted.

STANZA 11 – EXTENDED CODA

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to the side (N)	Rocking (N)
168h	N	that is Yin and Yang / {L: yes /}	x	x		x	x
168i [169]	N	giving and (taking) / [L: yes / ok /]		x	x		

Here the narrator adds another coda to finally close his narrative, by means of a spiritual catchphrase and its explanation. He stresses his remarks by body posture (line 168h). The listener signals his understanding by affirmative utterances. The stanza draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of spirituality.

4.2 Dialogue Fragments

Most narrators did not develop elaborate stories but answered the researcher's questions in a more minimalistic dialogical manner. Also, not all parts of the dialogues were relevant for MW construction, hence this paragraph presents only those dialogue fragments that were immediately involved therein. Among the responses of the different narrators was also a high degree of repetition, accordingly, not all the narrators are presented here.

The listener's interpretations of the fragments are his subjective notions instilled in him in the context of the interview setting (i.e., a scientific research interview officially communicated and encouraged by the organization's executive leadership), the non-verbal dimension of the interaction (e.g., focused and respectfully conducted no-nonsense conversations), and the explicit verbal utterances of the speakers, and their personal socializations.

4.2.1 The Fragment on the Pragmatist

Narrator Lucy is 46 years old at the time of the interview. She is married and has a son. She is German and has lived in Germany her whole life. As a first-generation university graduate she earned a master's degree in

communication sciences and started working for the Medienhaus as a freelance writer in 1989. In 1994 she was hired as a journalist. At the time of the interview she manages one of the editorial departments.

At 17:35 min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shaking head (N)
94	L	if you imagine / a friend asks you / what is meaningful work / what would you respond /	x	x	x					
95	N	well / definitely mine / <laughing> /	x			x				
96	L	<laughing> / right /	x			x				
97a	N	no / one that is so / well / this is indeed a very / very fulfilling work /	x	x		x			x	
97b	N	and / also all my friends always say / as much as I work /	x			x				
97c	N	it just makes / it is also fun /	x	x				x		
97d	N	it is a very * / non-hierarchical way of working /	x		x	x		x		
97e	N	and / one can / I do believe that / that we deliver something / which is beneficial for people /	x		x	x			x	
97f	N	I am a huge pragmatist / {L: yes /}	x	x	x		x	x		
97g	N	and therefore I want / that they get a benefit out of it /	x	x				x		
97h	N	and we tell them / if there is a formula one race on the weekend in Spa / then I want to tell them / where they can find the best parking / if there are any tickets left at all / and if it still makes sense to go there / or if one should rather let it go / {L: yes /} if one doesn't have tickets /	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
97i	N	that is just my claim / {L: yes /} and this / and this we comply with / hopefully / at times to a greater / or a lesser extent /	x	x			x			
97j [98]	N	but that is meaningful work / because / people really get an added value thereof / [L: aha /]	x	x	x	x	x			

The narrator opens the fragment by claiming that she considers her work to be meaningful (line 95). She justifies her claim by stating that she works a lot (line 97b), that her work is fun (line 97c), that it is autonomous (line 97d), and that it benefits others (line 97e-i). She closes the fragment by summarizing

that work is meaningful when it benefits others (line 97j). She emphasizes her disclosures by using affective language ("fulfilling", line 97a), eye contact (lines 97a, 97c, 97f-j), nodding (Lines 97a, 97e, 97h), hand gestures (97f, 97h-j), and shaking the head (line 97h). The listener signals his attention by keeping eye contact over the duration of the fragment, and his agreement by nodding (lines 97c-d, 97f-h) and affirmative lexical and non-lexical utterances (lines 97f, 97h-j). She expresses her identification with her role as a pragmatist, providing added value, in lines 97f and 97i. Implicitly this fragment instills in the listener the notion that the narrator takes for granted that striving for added value is comprehensible and necessary to experience MW, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy.

4.2.2 The Fragment on the Provider

Also this dialogue was provided by narrator Lucy. Her short vita was described in the previous fragment.

At 34:33min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)
120	L	<i>why do you work /</i>	x	x		
121a	N	<i>also for money / <laughing> / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x		
121b	N	<i>someone has to feed the family /</i>	x	x	x	x

In this short couplet the narrator reveals that, among other reasons, she also works "for money" (line 121a). She takes this notion for granted, emphasized by her laughing (line 121a). Her additional remark that "someone has to feed the family" reveals an obligation (line 121b). The term "has to" makes it clear that there is an expectation to provide for one's family. The listener confirms his agreement by an affirming utterance in line 121a.

Sixteen out of thirty narrators mentioned in a similar manner that (a) they take it for granted that they work for money, and (b) that they have an obligation to

provide for themselves and/or their families. They instilled in the listener the notion that they identified as and valued being a provider, and considered corresponding compliance necessary to experience MW. In doing so, the narrators drew on the normative dimension of the institution of kinship, relating to the family's expectation of being provided for. However, the narrators took it for granted that these expectations existed and that they were legitimate, thereby they drew also from the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship.

4.2.3 The Fragment on the Egalitarian

Narrator Frank is 26 years old at the time of the interview and single. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he completed an apprenticeship and graduated as a certified media designer. He was hired at Medienhaus in 2012 as a media designer and still works in that profession.

At 21:30min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/down/side (N)
127	L	<i>who has influence / on your experience of meaningfulness /</i>			x	x
128	N	<i>my immediate managers /</i>		x	x	
129	L	<i>mmh / *** / and what has influence on your experience of meaningfulness /</i>		x	x	
130	N	<i>** / the decisions of upper management /</i>		x	x	
131	L	<i>****mmh*** /</i>			x	x
132	N	<i>do you want me to explain that / or /</i>		x	x	x
133	L	<i>yes / very much so / [N: <laughing> /] <laughing></i>		x	x	
134a	N	<i>well / one always has the feeling /</i>			x	x
134b	N	<i>to be on the same level / with colleagues / {L: mmh /}</i>		x	x	x
134c	N	<i>and one can also discuss one's opinion / without the other side getting mad /</i>	x			x

134d	N	<i>that / one cannot do / with the executives / or / not with all of them / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		
134e	N	<i>that is * / flat hierarchies are always ** / communicated here / however / in the end / it is not so / {L: mmh /}</i>	x			x
134f	N	<i>well / there * / I do not know now / if I have really explained this / but this is / what comes to my mind in that regard /</i>	x	x	x	
135	L	<i>mmh / ok / what causes meaningfulness / in your opinion / in general /</i>		x	x	x
136e	N	<i>for me it is not meaningful /</i>			x	x
136f	N	<i>that the upper echelons relocated for the second time in a year and a half /</i>			x	x
136g	N	<i>and ** / it is said there is no money available / for air conditioning and things like that /</i>			x	x
136h	N	<i>because / working here at more than 35 degrees / is not fun /</i>	x			x
136i	N	<i>and then they construct high-end offices for the managing directors /</i>	x	x		

In response to the listener's questions regarding factors that influence the experience of meaning (lines 127, 129) the narrator answers in a very determined way stating that superiors and their decisions strongly influence the way meaningfulness is experienced at Medienhaus (lines 128, 130). The narrator hinges his following explanations on an apprehension of inconsistency (line 134a-e), originated by two events that happened in the organization. The first event consists of a discrepancy between officially communicated and actual patterns of interaction (lines 134b-e), and the second event deals with inconsistent spending patterns, exacerbated by an officially communicated companywide need for scarcity versus luxurious expenditures for superiors (lines 136e-i). While expressing these inconsistencies the narrator conveys determination to the listener in the way he communicates (i.e., tone of voice). The listener signals empathy by affirmative lexical and non-lexical utterances (lines 129, 131, 133, 134b, 134d-e). Implicitly the narrator utters critique about the unfair distribution of material resources in the organization. The tone in his voice also conveys frustration. The fragment instills in the listener the notion that the narrator relies on the assumption that it is understandable that employees want to be treated with fairness, implying that the latter contributes to MW. He draws on the cognitive dimension of the institutions of polity and law, and their derivative notions of hierarchy and distributional justice. From this fragment the listener

understands that an asymmetry between objective and subjective reality is problematic in organizations, because it impairs the apprehension of MW.

4.2.4 The Fragment on the Achiever

Narrator Ester is 27 years old at the time of the interview and single. She is German and has lived in Germany her whole life. After high school she earned a bachelor's degree in business administration with an emphasis in media studies. Parallel to her academic education she worked for Medienhaus as a temporary employee for four years and was hired by Medienhaus as a permanent employee in 2012. Today she works as a media consultant. Her daily work consists of preparing quotes for advertising clients.

At 12:05min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/down (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Smiling (N)	Shaking head (N)
73	L	imagine a friend asks you / what meaningful work is / what would you respond /		x	x				x	
74a	N	* also / again so * / in a split manner / a little bit /			x	x				
74b	N	on one side there is goal achievement / {L: yes /}	x	x	x		x	x		
74c	N	that means that I / and possibly other involved parties /			x	x				
74d	N	be it sales targets / or otherwise /		x	x			x		
74e	N	that these are met / {L: mmh /}			x	x				
74f	N	on the other side / also for me personally /			x	x		x		
74g	N	that I have the feeling /			x	x				
74h	N	that is something / which allows me / to progress /	x	x						
74i	N	or where I have learned something /		x	x					x
74j	N	so that I also progress personally /			x	x				
74k	N	gaining more knowledge /		x	x			x		
74l [75]	N	and that I make experiences / for coming tasks / [L:mmh /]		x	x	x	x			

The narrator starts the fragment with a conditional remark, suggesting to the listener a dual nature of MW (line 74a). First the narrator proposes goal achievement (line 74b) and explains what she means with the term, i.e., the achievement of organizational goals (line 74d) and personal goals (line 74f-l). She emphasizes her remarks with nodding (74b, 74d, 74f, 74g) and shaking the head (line 74i). The listener signals empathy by nodding (74b, 74l). Eye contact is limited in this interaction, due to the listener concentrating on his notes during the fragment. Nevertheless, the narrator keeps eye contact (lines 73, 74b, 74d, 74h-i, 74k-l) and continues the interaction in a friendly and constructive manner. The fragment instills in the listener a notion that the narrator deems the achievement of goals as necessary for the experience of MW. The notion implies that striving for goal achievement is comprehensible and normal, therewith drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its derivative notion of success. It also values knowledge, drawing on the institution of education.

4.2.5 The Fragment on the Progressionist

Narrator Daniel is 22 years old at the time of the interview and single. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he completed an apprenticeship and graduated as a media salesman. Parallel to his apprenticeship he worked for Medienhaus as a temporary employee for three years and was hired by Medienhaus as a permanent employee in 2014. Today he administrates sales software for the Medienhaus. Due to a loss of the video signal during the recording there are no non-verbal data available on this fragment, however, the narrator was very engaged during the interview and both speakers maintained a friendly and vivid conversation. The listener signaled his attentiveness and his agreement with the narrator's remarks with natural non-verbal behavior.

At 13:31min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript
170	L	in general terms / what generates meaningfulness /

171	N	now I have to / didn't we already talk about that / <laughing>
172	L	certainly / yes / in one or another form / yes / but I * /
173a	N	<i>everything that provides some kind of progress / is meaningful / {L: <i>aha</i> /}</i>
173b	N	<i>I know / here I am quoting my earlier statement once more /</i>
173c	N	<i>but / be it technological / or medical progress /</i>
173d	N	<i>or educating / or teaching / {L: <i>right</i> /}</i>
173e	N	<i>or even / indeed / that one helps other people / or /</i>
173f	N	<i>this is all progress / in my opinion / {L: <i>yes</i> /}</i>

The fragment starts with a remark from the narrator expressing his surprise about the repetition that was apparent in the listener's questions until this point in the dialogue (line 171). After the listener's justification (line 172) of the repetition the narrator addresses the original question with a reference to progress (line 173a). He then explains the types of progress he has in mind (lines 173c-e), followed by a corresponding summary (line 173f). The listener signals agreement with the narrator's remarks by means of lexical and non-lexical utterances (lines 173a, 173d, 173f). The fragment instills in the listener the notion that the narrator values the promotion of human progress. He relies on the assumption that progress is inherently desirable, and that striving for it is understandable and necessary to experience MW. The fragment therewith draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its derivative notion of progress.

4.2.6 The Fragment on the Contributor

Narrator Alex is 52 years old at the time of the interview. He is married and has two children. Alex is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. He graduated from college as an engineer in printing technology, and started in the printing department in 1988, which he now manages.

At 18:29min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking at his notes (N)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Nodding (L)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Shaking head (N)
102	L	imagine a friend asks you / what meaningful work is / what would you respond /	x	x	x		x			
103a	N	what did I write down / yes / what is meaningful work /	x		x	x				
103b	N	it depends on / where one / yes / where one stands / what one wants to do /	x		x	x				
103c	N	so / I think that / that ** / everything that contributes to the product /	x			x	x			
103d	N	regardless if that is now / from my point of view / always / everybody plays a role here / and does something /	x		x		x			
103e	N	and there / everything is meaningful / which / in my opinion / contributes to the publication of the newspaper /	x	x	x		x		x	
103f	N	be it the cleaner / on the one side / that is the gatekeeper / that is the managing director / and that is everything in between /	x	x			x	x		x
103g	N	so / from this point of view / everything that is done here / is meaningful /		x	x				x	
103h	N	so / I don't believe / that there are people / who stroll around here / without purpose /	x	x	x	x		x		
103i [104]	N	so / I believe / they would be very frustrated / [L: mmh /]	x	x	x			x		

The narrator begins the fragment with a reference to one's place and intentions in an organization (line 103b), followed by an explanation why he thinks that this reference helps in the understanding of MW (lines 103c-g). He then describes an exemplary scenario to strengthen his argument (line 103h), and closes the fragment with an evaluation (line 103i). During the fragment the narrator emphasizes his utterances with non-verbal cues like shrugging shoulders (lines 103e, 103g), and shaking the head (line 103f). The listener signals attentiveness by keeping eye contact for most of the fragment, and gives affirmative non-verbal indications by nodding (lines 103f, 103h-i) and a non-lexical utterance (line 104). The fragment instills in the listener a notion that the narrator is convinced that every employee contributes to the creation

of an end product. He takes for granted that playing one's role is typical in an organization and necessary to experience MW. Correspondingly, the fragment draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its derivative notion of efficiency (by division of labor).

4.2.7 The Fragment on the Professional

Narrator Don is 50 years old at the time of the interview. He is married and has one child. Don is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he completed an apprenticeship as an industrial mechanic, and afterwards he earned a REFA¹³ diploma in scientific work management. Although he was employed by other newspapers during his long career in advertising sales, he worked for Medienhaus on and off, for a total of over 20 years. Today he manages the advertising department of Aachener Zeitung.

At 30:01min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking down (N)	Hands in pockets (N)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Smiling (N)
144	L	why do you work /	x		x	x			
145a	N	<puffs> *****<clearing throat> / I have once said / I don't work at all / not only for the money / right / rather / because working is fun /	x	x	x	x			
145b	N	and / because it is a / a life task / right / [L: mmh /]	x	x	x	x		x	
145c [146]	N	**I wouldn't even know / what to do the whole day / at home / <laughing> / [L: yes / yes /]	x	x	x	x		x	x
147a	N	at some point in time the lawn is mowed / and / the trees are trimmed / and the hedge is clipped /	x	x	x	x		x	
147b	N	so / my task / I see my / my work / also / by all means / as the content of my life /	x	x	x	x			
147c	N	and not only / in order to fund my life /	x	x	x	x	x		

¹³ REFA ("Reichsausschuss für Arbeitszeitvermittlung") was a German government institution established in 1924, which promoted the application of scientific management methods in organizations. After the second world war REFA was reorganized and is still in operation today as a registered association, offering management consulting and education specialized in rationalization.

The narrator starts the fragment with mentioning fun (line 145a), immediately followed by defining work as a "life-task" (line 145b), and that he would not know what to do with his time otherwise (line 145c). He then explains what he understands as typical off-work activities and makes clear that he is not eager to pursue these (lines 147a-b). He recaps the fragment by defining work as the content of his life (147b). The non-verbal cues given by the narrator are initially perceived as irritating by the listener: the narrator's body posture in combination with hands in pockets is perceived as slightly inappropriate for the occasion, and as a result the listener expects the narrator to be uninterested in the dialogue. However, at the end of the fragment the listener perceives the narrator's remarks as proof of a sincere effort of reflection on the side of the narrator, a notion that is seemingly confirmed by the narrator's non-verbal cues given during the fragment in the form of shrugging shoulders (lines 145b-c, 147a), smiling (line 145c) and nodding (line 147c). The listener signals interest and attentiveness with eye contact throughout the fragment in spite of his initial reservations, and with lexical and non-lexical utterances (lines 145b, 146). The fragment instills in the listener the thought that the narrator significantly values his profession. The narrator suggests that for him there is no activity in his life that is more meaningful than professional work. On a more fundamental level he takes for granted that he must engage in professional work to experience meaningfulness in life, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of religion, and its derivative notion of spirituality, here induced by the institution of economy.

4.2.8 The Fragment on the Altruist

Narrator John is 51 years old at the time of the interview. He is married and has three children. John is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he completed an apprenticeship as industrial clerk. Since then he worked his way up the organizational hierarchy for 32 years, and now he is the Managing Director of SuperSonntag Verlag.

At 15:54min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/down (N)	Hand gestures (N)	Nodding (L)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
96	L	imagine a friend asks you / what meaningful work is / what would you respond /		x	x	x			
97a	N	yes / that is when the employees / actually have the feeling /	X		x				
97b	N	in / in the social environment / or economically /			x		x		
97c	N	of having created something productive / {L: mmh /}		x	x		x	x	
97d	N	if someone in jail / is sealing paper bags / <chuckles> / then maybe this is not that meaningful / {L: mmh /}	X	x	x			x	
97e	N	so / in the end / when I go home in the evening / and say / I have / for the overall success / for the economy / for society /	X	x			x		x
97f	N	effected something positive / with my work / {L: mmh /}	X	x				x	
97g [98]	N	then I would indeed have the feeling / I have done something meaningful / meaningful work / [L: mmh /]	X	x			x	x	x

The narrator starts the fragment with the notion that MW has an affective dimension (line 97a). In the following lines he associates the experience of corresponding feelings to the production of a positive effect for society (97b-f). In the last line he recaps the fragment again around the thought of MW as a feeling (line 97g). The narrator accompanies his remarks with affirmative hand gestures (lines 97b-c, 9e, 97g), and the shrugging of shoulders (lines 97e, 97g). The listener signals his agreement with the narrator's remarks by means of affirmative non-lexical utterances (lines 97c-d, 97f, 98), and nodding (lines 97c-d, 97f-g). The fragment instills in the listener the thought that the narrator values contributing to society (e.g., the success of the organization, the economy, and "the social" as such), and he takes for granted that such striving is understandable and necessary to experience MW. Thereby the fragment draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

4.2.9 The Fragment on the Moralist

Narrator Brian is 38 years old at the time of the interview and single. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he started an apprenticeship as an industrial clerk in a car dealership. He worked there for 18 years, 11 thereof as a salesman. He was headhunted and hired by Medienhaus one year ago, and he works now as a media consultant. His daily work consists of selling ads to advertising clients. Due to technical difficulties during parts of the video recording no non-verbal cues could be documented for this fragment.

At 1:02:00hr into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript
168	L	<i>imagine a friend asks you / what meaningful work is / what would you respond /</i>
169a	N	<i>** so / meaningful work / yes / I would say / work in general / should be fun / of course / or / if it is fun / then it is meaningful /</i>
169b	N	<i>when one feels well / in the environment / with the colleagues /</i>
169c	N	<i>if it is / meaningful work is for me also / yes / if it is not about manipulation /</i>
169d	N	<i>or / in the background / having to do something with deception / {L: mmh /}</i>
169e	N	<i>rather / when it is about an honest product / {L: mmh /} yes / honest and sincere /</i>
169f	N	<i>that is very important / for me personally /</i>

The narrator starts the fragment with the notion that work that generates fun is meaningful (line 169a). However, in the following lines he relates MW to the affective dimension of affiliation (line 169b), and its respectability (lines 169c-e). In the last line he conveys that honesty is important (line 169f). The listener indicates his agreement with the narrator's remarks by non-lexical utterances (lines 169d-e). This fragment instills in the listener the thought that the narrator values affiliation and honesty. He takes it for granted that living in harmony with colleagues and striving for honesty is comprehensible and necessary in order to experience MW. Since the narrator's occupation is to a considerable extent regulated by law (e.g., antifraud legislation) the fragment draws on the regulative dimension of the institution of law. However, the

fragment instills in the listener also the notion that the narrator's personal moral standard reaches beyond what is required by law, in that he values honesty and therewith draws as well on the normative dimension of the institution of law. Furthermore, within the scope of the interview situation, the fragment draws on the cognitive dimension of the institution of law in that, for the speakers, it is unthinkable that the law has no regulative and normative dimensions.

4.2.10 The Fragment on the Socializer

Narrator Robin is 44 years old at the time of the interview. He is married. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life, with the exception of one year during which he studied in Great-Britain. He earned a master's degree in political science, and started working for the Medienhaus as a freelance writer in 1995. In 2000 he was hired as an editor. He still worked in that capacity at the time of the interview.

At 1:03:14hr into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking to the side (N)	Crossing arms (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)
127b	L	<i>why do you work /</i>			x	x				
128b	N	<i>it is just fun /</i>	x	x		x	x		x	
128c	N	<i>but also / because there are many nice people here / so / not only because my friend of earlier days works here / there are also people working here who I associate with on a private basis / who have become friends / or good acquaintances /</i>		x	x	x	x	x		
128d	N	<i>so / this has by all means also the image of a big family /</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x	
128e	N	<i>I / I just enjoy seeing these people so very much / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		x	x	x		x
128f	N	<i>and I must say / the chat here / and also even the problem there /</i>	x			x	x			
128g	N	<i>so / it is not only a job / this is absolutely / this is from the / looking at the overall structure / it is more than a job / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		x	x		x	x

128h	N	<i>it is also this social network / in which everybody cares for the other / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
128i	N	<i>that is also / so / this social component / not only towards the external / we can help the ones who have a difficult life¹⁴ / rather / we also look after each other / {L: mmh /} so / whether we are ok / right / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x		x	x	x	x	
128j	N	<i>that is for sure / also important /</i>		x	x				x	

The narrator begins this fragment with a short mention of fun as a reason why he works (line 128b), but quickly enters into an elaboration of affiliation with people in the workplace as a necessity for the experience of MW (lines 128c-128i). He ends the fragment with pointing out that affiliation is important for MW (line 128j). The narrator accompanies his remarks with nodding (lines 128b, 128d, 128g-j), and shrugging shoulders (lines 128e, 128g-h). The listener signals attentiveness by eye contact (lines 128b, 128d-128i), and agreement by nodding (lines 128c-e, 128h-i) and lexical and non-lexical utterances (lines 128e, 128g-i). The fragment instills in the listener the notion that the narrator strongly values affiliation. He uses the metaphor of the "Big Family" (line 128d) to voice that he cherishes being a part of his social network at work. He mentions the importance of looking after each other (line 128i), and takes for granted that striving for belonging and care is understandable and necessary to experience MW, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship (i.e., kinship in its wider sense relating to colleagues), and its derivative notion affiliation.

4.2.11 The Fragment on the Improver

Narrator Zach is 42 years old at the time of the interview. He lives in a partnership with a woman, with whom he has two children. His father is an electrical engineer from Sudan, his mother a German housewife. In 1995, after high school, he completed an apprenticeship as a nurse and after graduation in 1998 he worked in this profession for three years. He then decided to pursue a university degree and earned a master's degree in political sciences. He started working for the Medienhaus as a freelance writer in 2008, in parallel to his work as a nurse. In 2010 he was hired as an editor

¹⁴ Here the storyteller refers to a charity project of Aachener Zeitung ("People help people").

by Aachener Zeitung. Since then he worked up the hierarchical ladder in the editorial department and at the time of the interview he is its Managing Editor. His superiors are only the Editor-in-Chief of Aachener Zeitung, and the CEO of Medienhaus.

At 28:25min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at this notes (L)	Looking to the side (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)
135	L	what is more meaningful / or what is the more meaningful work / your job as a journalist / or as a nurse ¹⁵ /		x	x	x			
136a	N	<puffs> / in a first reaction one would well say the nurse /	X	x					
136b	N	this is indeed extremely meaningful /	X	x					
136c	N	but in these constraints / so / the constraints within which I was stuck there /	X			x			
136d	N	I did not sense it as meaningful as my work now /	X	x					
136e	N	which is mainly due to the reason that / that one / that I worked in the intensive care sector / in the internal intensive care unit / we had a lot of patients with chronic lung diseases / patients with liver cirrhosis / patients with limited renal function / that means we had many chronically sick persons / whose suffering one sometimes / just prolongated / {L: mmh /}	X	x			x	x	x
136f	N	and / the only successes / which we had on our ward / were people after kidney transplants / so / the feeling when one said / ok / there is someone leaving in good health /	x	x			x	x	x
136g	N	and we had a lot of intoxications / that means drug addicts / who took a / an overdose / who then came to us / whose life we saved / but who were suicidal sometimes /	x	x			x	x	
136h	N	{L: yes /} so / that / it was / simply due to the / the environment / {L: mmh /}	x				x	x	x

¹⁵ In his previous employment the storyteller worked as a nurse for a hospital.

136i	N	on the other / maybe on a different ward I would have regarded my job / as much more meaningful /	x	x					
139	L	ok / why would it have been different on another ward /	x	x					
140a	N	yes / well / when I / so / when I / when I would work / for example / on an anesthetic intensive care unit / (a) trauma unit / where I / where the process would be such that / I receive a seriously injured accident victim / do a lot / do a lot and see an improvement / on a daily basis /	x	x			x	x	x
140b	N	and at one point in time / that young person then / leaves the ward / upright / with an upright body posture /	x	x			x	x	
140c	N	or pays me a visit after half a year / and says / hey / I am that fine by now / {L: mmh /}	x	x			x	x	x
140d	N	and these success stories / we did not have them / almost never /	x	x			x	x	
140e [141]	N	which was simply due to the situation on that / that ward / [L: yes /]	x	x				x	

The listener starts the fragment asking the narrator to compare his current occupation at Medienhaus with his previous employment as a nurse in terms of meaningfulness (line 135). Before answering the question the narrator reacts with a non-verbal expression (i.e., puffing), which signals to the listener that a response to the question was not easy and that it required some serious reflection (line 136a). He then suggests that the job of a nurse is more meaningful at first sight (136a), and in the following line he confirms that the profession of a nurse is indeed very meaningful (line 136b), but then he explains why he perceives that his work as a nurse in the given environment at the time was less meaningful than his current job in the newspaper (136c-i, 140a-e). The narrator emphasizes his remarks with the help of gaze (lines 135, 136a-b, 136d-g, 136i, 139, 140a-e, 141), hand gestures (lines 136e-h, 140a-d), and nodding (lines 136e-f, 136h, 140a, 140c). The listener expresses his empathy with the help of gaze throughout the narrator's remarks, and nodding (lines 136e-h, 140a-e). The listener derives from the fragment that the experience of the feeling of success is necessary for the experience of MW for the narrator, and that he experiences this feeling to a larger extent in his work for Medienhaus. The fragment also instills in the listener the notion that the narrator takes for granted that striving for success is comprehensible and necessary to experience MW, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the

institution of economics and its derivative notion of success. However, implicit in this fragment is also the association that nurses in general have a high degree of meaningfulness at work, because they care about the wellbeing of other people, drawing on the normative dimension of the social institution of kinship.

4.2.12 The Fragment on the Conformist

Also this fragment was provided by narrator Zach. His short vita was described in the previous fragment.

At 34:34min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking to the side (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)
151	L	<i>why do you work /</i>	x	x			
154b	N	<i>I work / because there is probably the societal / the societal expectation / towards me / to work /</i>	x	x	x	x	x

The narrator answers the listener's question with a direct reference to societal expectations towards him. Accordingly, the listener concludes that the narrator identifies himself as a member of his society, who takes it for granted to comply with its norms. The narrator emphasizes his remarks with nodding. The listener confirms his agreement with the narrator's remarks also by nodding. The fragment instills in the listener a notion that the narrator values conformity with societal norms. The narrator takes for granted that society expects him to work. Hence, work is meaningful for him because it allows him to comply with societal expectations. Hence, the fragment draws on the normative and on the cognitive dimensions of the social institution of economy and its derivative notion of employment.

4.2.13 The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate

Narrator Glenn is 30 years old at the time of the interview and single. He is German and has lived in Germany his whole life. After secondary school he went to college and graduated with a bachelor degree in media management.

He was hired by Medienhaus in 2010, and he works now as a media consultant. His daily work consists of selling ads to advertising clients.

At 13:41min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Looking up/side/down (N)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Nodding (N)	Shrugging shoulders (N)	Shaking head (N)
65	L	<i>imagine a friend asks you what meaningful work is / what would you answer /</i>	x	x	x					
66a	N	<i>work on-target is meaningful /</i>	x	x	x			x		
66b	N	<i>that there is an objective / that I know I can achieve / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x		
67	L	<i>ok / the same question related to meaningless work / how would you explain that to a friend /</i>	x	x						
68a	N	<i>yes / actually / kind of the opposite / that what I do not understand / {L: mmh /}</i>	x	x	x		x		x	
68b	N	<i>for me it is always very very important to understand things /</i>	x	x	x	x				
68c	N	<i>and to understand where I must arrive at /</i>	x	x				x		
68d	N	<i>what do I have to do /</i>	x	x		x				
68e	N	<i>or rather / why do I have to do it /</i>	x	x	x			x		
68f [69]	N	<i>and when I do not understand that / then this is for me meaningless / [L: mmh /]</i>	x	x	x	x				x

The narrator starts the fragment by relating the meaningfulness of work to goal achievement (lines 66a-b). He then adds that for the experience of MW an understanding of processes and their rationale are necessary (lines 68a-f). He emphasizes his remarks with hand gestures (lines 66b, 68b, 68d, 68f), nodding (lines 66a-b, 68c, 68e), shrugging shoulders (line 68a), and shaking the head (line 68f). The listener signals his agreement with nodding (lines 66b, 68a), and non-lexical utterances (lines 66b, 68a, 69). This fragment instills in the listener the notion that the narrator values structure in order to avoid ambiguity and uncertainty. For him it is necessary to understand tasks and goals in order to experience meaningfulness at work. In his striving for goal achievement he draws on the normative dimension of the institution of

economy, and in his need for structure and understanding he draws on the cognitive dimension of the social institution of education.

4.2.14 The Fragment on the Economist

Narrator James is 59 years old at the time of the interview. He is married and has children. He is of Baltic (then: Soviet Union) origin and has lived in Germany since 1989. In 1989 he also earned a doctorate in computer science at a German university, since then he lives in Germany. He was hired by Medienhaus in 2007, and he now works as its Technical Director. His daily work consists of making sure that the newspaper's software systems perform well and run stable.

At 26:05min into the interview the following dialogue occurred:

Line	Speaker	Transcript	Eye contact (L)	Eye contact (N)	Looking at his notes (L)	Hand gesture (N)	Nodding (L)	Crossing arms (N)	Leaning back (N)	Smiling (N)
87b	L	<i>I think / in any organization / there are sometimes phases / when you think / yes / now this is really not meaningful / right / or meaningless / does something come to your mind in that regard /</i>	x	x	x			x		
88a	N	<i>yes / so / I am not sure whether this fits here / so / I often get upset about those bureaucratic / stipulations * / issued by government agencies /</i>	x	x	x		x	x		
88b	N	<i>I am not sure whether you know this / we pay minimum wages to the newspaper deliverers / in principle everybody was happy and content / and made money / and due to the minimum wage / where you go from piecework to hourly wages / and where you have the principle / absolutely / so to speak / the performance principle / where I say / per piece you get a wage and so on / and this everybody can calculate / everybody knows what he gets and so on / and these are / for example / meaningless things / there are more /</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x		

88c	N	<i>especially / when I think about it / say / that we waste perhaps / thirty / forty percent of our efforts / for such a meaningless stuff / so / for the minimum wage / which we just introduced / we ordered systems worth 40.000 EUR / then we had internal work / also external work / service providers and so on / we invested so much / and in principle / the deliverer does not get more money / ok / we prove that he gets minimum wage / {L: yes /}</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x		
88d [89]	N	<i>that makes me feel upset / [L: yes / yes / mmh]</i>	x	x			x			
90 [91]	N	<i>they should rather distribute the (wasted) money to the deliverers / <laughing> / [L: exactly /]</i>	x	x		x	x		x	x

By uttering the term "those" preceding the phrase "bureaucratic stipulations issued by government agencies" the narrator opens his argument in line 88a reminding the listener of a general (i.e., common in a capitalist society) suspicion of arbitrariness and inefficiency with regard to the results of regulation imposed by public authorities, and a corresponding detriment of free market exchange. With lines 88b and 88c the opening is followed by its justification in the form of descriptions of specific adverse implications of the new law on the economic efficiency of Medienhaus (with line 88b concentrating on the law's consequences on the individual newspaper deliverers, and line 88c focusing on its consequences on the organization). With his critique the narrator instills in the listener mainly the notion that in his role as the Technical Director he has a responsibility to provide economically efficient solutions to the organization. Since the new law affects the narrator's ability to comply with this role, he experiences its impairment affectively as annoying, as expressed by the term "upset" in lines 88a and 88d, and cognitively as meaningless, as per lines 88b ("meaningless things") and, in a more contemptuous manner, line 88c ("meaningless stuff"). He emphasizes the meaninglessness of the new law by ridiculing it in the fragment's final clause as per line 90. In turn the listener signals sympathy for the narrator's remarks throughout the fragment in the form of non-verbal and verbal acknowledgements, i.e., nodding (lines 88a-d, 89, 90), and non-lexical and lexical utterances (lines 88c, 89, 91). Implicit in the fragment (and therewith tacitly present in the apprehension of the listener) is that the narrator is in a contractual relationship with Medienhaus and respectively identifies as an employee, and as such he must do his job even under adverse

circumstances, thereby complying with the regulative institutional dimension of employment. Also, as a Technical Director he is in a superior professional position, and therefore is expected to comply with and lead subordinates in the application of legislative regulation and professional expertise, thereby observing the normative institutional dimension of employment. Implicit in the interaction that comprises this last fragment is also that the narrator takes an economic mindset for granted: it is normal for him to pay a minimum for input, and to keep transaction cost to a minimum, drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy and its derivative notion of productivity. Another association that is tacitly instilled in the listener as a result of the interaction within the organizational context, is that as a responsible person the narrator takes it for granted to be loyal to the organization and to act in a conscientious and engaged manner in his daily work. Finally, as a family man he takes it for granted to go to work in general. In consequence he enacts the cognitive dimension of the institution of economy, and its derivative notion of employment, within the reference frame of his specific organizational and personal context, also drawing on the cognitive dimension of the institution of kinship, and its derivative notion of affiliation.

4.3 Summary of Findings

The following subparagraphs summarize key findings gathered across the narratives in response to the research questions. The first subparagraph lists clues on the response to RQ1: "What do employees consider to be MW?" The second subparagraph documents recurring patterns of MW construction in response to RQ2: "How is MW constructed?" The response to RQ3 requires a synthesis from all the findings, and will therefore be discussed in the following chapter.

4.3.1 RQ1 Findings

The following table illustrates what MW means to the narrators in their own terms, i.e., their subjective reality that is constructed in interaction with the listener with regard to MW, as apprehended by the listener. The narrators' utterances, in the multi-faceted context of the respective interview situations,

instilled notions of functionality with regard to identity construction in the apprehension of the listener, which are also documented in the table. Accordingly, work was considered to be meaningful for the narrators if it was functional for the establishment or maintenance of their work-related identities (for a more detailed discussion see chapter 5.1).

NARRATIVES	KEY UTTERANCES	NARRATORS CONSIDER WORK TO BE MEANINGFUL IF...
THE STORY OF THE PHILOSOPHER EXECUTIVE	<p>"September 11th, 2001, that was for me meaningful, that was meaningfulness in its very best sense",</p> <p>"I want that something from me remains",</p> <p>"I feel an acceptance",</p> <p>"there I am totally with myself"</p>	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a philosopher executive.
THE STORY OF THE GUARDIAN	<p>"the constitution gives us, in a way , a guard function",</p> <p>"that is an important mandate, because it contributes in such a way that this whole community life works",</p> <p>"if I understand my duty in helping to align and steer this company, then this applies to me as well, of course"</p>	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a guardian.
THE STORY OF THE INFLUENCER	<p>"work is meaningless if there arises no benefit out of it for anybody, or, where there is no social component, or responsibility behind it",</p> <p>"I see the meaning of my job as the thing for which I have been hired for, of course, to get the highest sales possible out of my area, and out of my team"</p>	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an influencer.
THE STORY OF THE CONFORMIST	<p>"the origin was societal pressure",</p> <p>"it came out of myself, it was just me, who had put myself under pressure, so, I observed it with others, I thought, bummer, that's what you want, that's what you must do, too, now you are also obliged"</p>	...it serves the narrator to enact her identity as a conformist.
THE STORY OF THE EDUCATOR	<p>"because an uninformed person is a worse person", "it is a good, beneficial, and salutary task, I think, to inform people",</p> <p>"I also want to give something, even something meaningful, something that makes the world a little better"</p>	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an educator.

THE FRAGMENT ON THE PRAGMATIST	"I do believe that we deliver something, which is beneficial for people", "I am a huge pragmatist", "that is meaningful work, because people really get an added value thereof"	...it serves the narrator to enact her identity as a pragmatist.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE PROVIDER	"someone has to feed the family"	...it serves the narrator to enact her identity as a provider.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE EGALITARIAN	"for me it is not meaningful that the upper echelons relocated for the second time in a year and a half, and it is said there is no money available, for air conditioning and things like that, because, working here at more than 35 degrees, is not fun, and then they construct high-end offices for the managing directors"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an egalitarian.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE ACHIEVER	"on one side there is goal achievement", "be it sales targets, or otherwise", "on the other side, also for me personally, that I have the feeling, that is something, which allows me to progress"	...it serves the narrator to enact her identity as an achiever.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE PROGRESSIONIST	"everything that provides some kind of progress is meaningful"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a progressionist.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE CONTRIBUTOR	"everything is meaningful, which, in my opinion, contributes to the publication of the newspaper, be it the cleaner, on the one side, that is the gatekeeper, that is the managing director, and that is everything in between, so, from this point of view, everything that is done here, is meaningful"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a contributor.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE PROFESSIONAL	"I don't work at all, not only for the money, right, rather, because working is fun, and, because it is a life task", "I see my work also, by all means, as the content of my life"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a professional.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE ALTRUIST	"when I go home in the evening, and say, I have, for the overall success, for the economy, for society, effected something positive, with my work, then I would indeed have the feeling, I have done something meaningful, meaningful work"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an altruist.

THE FRAGMENT ON THE MORALIST	"meaningful work is for me also, if it is not about manipulation, or, in the background, having to do something with deception, rather, when it is about an honest product, honest and sincere"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a moralist.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE SOCIALIZER	"I just enjoy seeing these people so very much, it is not only a job", "looking at the overall structure, it is more than a job, it is also this social network, in which everybody cares for the other, that is also, this social component, we also look after each other"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a socializer.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE IMPROVER	"improvement on a daily basis "	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an improver.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE CONFORMIST	"I work, because there is probably the societal expectation towards me to work"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a conformist.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE CONSCIENTIOUS SUBORDINATE	"work on-target is meaningful", "for me it is always very important to understand things, and to understand where I must arrive at, what do I have to do, or rather, why do I have to do it, and when I do not understand that, then this is for me meaningless"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as a conscientious subordinate.
THE FRAGMENT ON THE ECONOMIST	"we waste perhaps thirty, forty percent of our efforts for such a meaningless stuff", "that makes me feel upset"	...it serves the narrator to enact his identity as an economist.

Table I - Summary of RQ1 Key Findings

The next subparagraph summarizes RQ2 related findings.

4.3.2 RQ2 Findings

The first table in this subparagraph lists institutions that were interacted into being by the speakers as shown in the findings of the previous paragraphs¹⁶.

NARRATIVES	INSTITUTIONS
The Story of the Philosopher Executive	Economy, Kinship, Religion, Polity, Law
The Story of the Guardian	Economy, Kinship, Religion, Polity, Education
The Story of the Influencer	Economy, Kinship, Law
The Story of the Conformist	Economy, Kinship
The Story of the Educator	Economy, Kinship, Religion, Education
The Fragment on the Pragmatist	Economy, Kinship
The Fragment on the Provider	Kinship
The Fragment on the Egalitarian	Polity, Law
The Fragment on the Achiever	Economy
The Fragment on the Progressionist	Economy
The Fragment on the Contributor	Economy
The Fragment on the Professional	Economy, Religion
The Fragment on the Altruist	Economy, Kinship
The Fragment on the Moralist	Economy, Kinship, Law
The Fragment on the Socializer	Kinship
The Fragment on the Improver	Economy, Kinship
The Fragment on the Conformist	Economy, Kinship
The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate	Economy, Education
The Fragment on the Economist	Economy, Kinship

Table II - Data Patterns involved in MW Construction - Institutions

The following table lists teleologies induced by the institutions mentioned in the previous table. Such teleologies are labeled in the narratives as *derivative notions* of respective institutions, because they emerged in the data in their

¹⁶ The phrase 'interacted into being' was coined by the author with the aim to conflate the necessarily wordy description of an insight of this study, i.e., the social construction of MW (and its complementary components) as a multi-faceted holistic process of social interaction in multiple contexts that draws from linguistic and cultural elements. Also, in the discretion of the author, the phrase gives a more vivid notion of the concept than the use of the phrase 'social construction'.

respective contexts as associations instilled in the listener referring to the *end* purposes of such institutions (as shown in the findings documented in the previous paragraphs). E.g., in The Story of the Philosopher Executive the institution of economy induced in the listener the teleology of success that one strives for; the institution of kinship induced the teleology of affiliation that one strives for; etc.

NARRATIVES	TELEOLOGIES
The Story of the Philosopher	Success, Affiliation, Persistence, Power, Order
The Story of the Guardian	Success, Affiliation, Morality, Power, Truth
The Story of the Influencer	Benefit, Affiliation, Order
The Story of the Conformist	Employment, Affiliation
The Story of the Educator	Employment, Affiliation, Morality, Truth
The Fragment on the Pragmatist	Benefit, Affiliation
The Fragment on the Provider	Survival
The Fragment on the Egalitarian	Power, Order
The Fragment on the Achiever	Success
The Fragment on the Progressionist	Progress
The Fragment on the Contributor	Creation
The Fragment on the Professional	Employment, Spirituality
The Fragment on the Altruist	Success, Affiliation
The Fragment on the Moralist	Products, Affiliation, Order
The Fragment on the Socializer	Affiliation
The Fragment on the Improver	Success, Affiliation
The Fragment on the Conformist	Employment, Affiliation
The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate	Success, Truth
The Fragment on the Economist	Profit, Affiliation

Table III - Data Patterns involved in MW Construction - Teleologies

The following table lists functions that the speakers established, which, in context, logically follow the teleologies shown above (for details see the findings documented in the previous paragraphs). Again, such functions are notions instilled in the listener as a result of the interaction with the narrator,

i.e., speakers associate success with the need to make profits *in order to* achieve success. In this sense profits have the function to produce success. E.g., in The Story of the Philosopher Executive 'profits' (or, as it was formulated in the corresponding narrative, 'results') have the function to produce economic success for the organization; solidarity has the function to achieve affiliation with the employees; etc.

NARRATIVES	FUNCTIONS
The Story of the Philosopher Executive	Profit, Solidarity, Transcendence, Influence, Compliance
The Story of the Guardian	Profit, Solidarity, Propagation, Influence, Veracity
The Story of the Influencer	Revenue, Solidarity, Compliance
The Story of the Conformist	Recognition, Conformity
The Story of the Educator	Recognition, Solidarity, Charity, Enlightenment
The Fragment on the Pragmatist	Added Value, Solidarity
The Fragment on the Provider	Subsistence
The Fragment on the Egalitarian	Hierarchy, Justice
The Fragment on the Achiever	Goal Achievement
The Fragment on the Progressionist	Evolution
The Fragment on the Contributor	Participation
The Fragment on the Professional	Activity, Busyness
The Fragment on the Altruist	Revenue, Solidarity
The Fragment on the Moralist	Production, Solidarity, Honesty
The Fragment on the Socializer	Solidarity
The Fragment on the Improver	Improvement, Solidarity
The Fragment on the Conformist	Recognition, Conformity
The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate	Goal Achievement, Understanding
The Fragment on the Economist	Productivity, Solidarity

Table IV - Data Patterns involved in MW Construction - Functions

The following table lists actions that speakers reported to have performed in the past or intend to do in the future, which were or are orientated by the notion of the functions established above (for details see the findings documented in the previous paragraphs). E.g., in The Story of the Philosopher

Executive the narrator stated (1) "I must also be measured against my results", therewith, in context, expressing that he orients his work towards profits; (2) that he "wants to make things differently", therewith, in context, expressing that he orients his work towards making the workplace more humane; etc.

NARRATIVES	ACTIONS
The Story of the Philosopher Executive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generating profits - making the workplace more humane - leaving a legacy - instilling understanding in subordinates - holding subordinates accountable
The Story of the Guardian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - making the organization more profitable - serving the readers - conveying values to readers - guarding the constitutional mandate - helping readers form an opinion based on facts
The Story of the Influencer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - working efficiently - contributing to the social good - enlisting as a serviceman
The Story of the Conformist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - applying for a job - imitating the behavior of neighbors
The Story of the Educator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - making significant contributions - maintaining good relationships with coworkers - doing the good - informing readers about significant facts of reality
The Fragment on the Pragmatist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - providing useful information to readers - helping readers to avoid frustrations
The Fragment on the Provider	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - earning money
The Fragment on the Egalitarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - questioning organizational structure - protesting leadership decisions
The Fragment on the Achiever	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - achieving goals
The Fragment on the Progressionist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - facilitating change
The Fragment on the Contributor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - making a contribution in creating an end product
The Fragment on the Professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - doing one's job - fulfilling life's task
The Fragment on the Altruist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - making a contribution to the organization - making a contribution to society
The Fragment on the Moralist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - selling ads - maintaining harmony with coworkers - applying ethical selling techniques
The Fragment on the Socializer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - caring for coworkers
The Fragment on the Improver	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - facilitating positive change - caring for people
The Fragment on the Conformist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - doing one's job - complying with societal expectations
The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - working on target - striving for goal achievement
The Fragment on the Economist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - leading staff to productivity - intending distributional justice

Table V - Data Patterns involved in MW Construction - Actions

The last table provides an overview of the recurring patterns involved in the social construction of MW, depicting their relationships, as derived from the insights gained from this study up to this point.

NARRATIVES	INSTITUTIONS (interacted into being)	TELEOLOGIES (induced per institutions)	FUNCTIONS (assigned per telos)	ACTIONS (oriented by function)
The Story of the Philosopher Executive	Economy	Success	Profit	- generating profits
	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- making the workplace more humane
	Religion	Persistence	Transcendence	- leaving a legacy
	Polity	Power	Influence	- instilling understanding in subordinates
	Law	Order	Compliance	- holding subordinates accountable
The Story of the Guardian	Economy	Success	Profit	- making the organization profitable
	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- serving the readers
	Religion	Morality	Propagation	- conveying values to readers
	Polity	Power	Influence	- guarding the constitutional mandate
	Education	Truth	Veracity	- helping readers form an opinion based on facts
The Story of the Influencer	Economy	Benefit	Revenue	- working efficiently
	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- contributing to the social good
	Law	Order	Compliance	- enlisting as a serviceman
The Story of the Conformist	Economy	Employment	Recognition	- applying for a job
	Kinship	Affiliation	Conformity	- imitating the behavior of neighbors
The Story of the Educator	Economy	Employment	Recognition	- making significant contributions
	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- maintaining good relationships
	Religion	Morality	Charity	- doing the good
	Education	Truth	Enlightenment	- informing readers about significant facts
The Fragment on the Pragmatist	Economy	Benefit	Added Value	- providing useful information to readers
	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- helping readers to avoid frustrations

The Fragment on the Provider	Kinship	Survival	Sustenance	- earning money
The Fragment on the Egalitarian	Polity Law	Power Order	Hierarchy Justice	- questioning organizational structure - protesting leadership decisions
The Fragment on the Achiever	Economy	Success	Goal Achievement	- achieving goals
The Fragment on the Progressionist	Economy	Progress	Evolution	- facilitating change
The Fragment on the Contributor	Economy	Creation	Participation	- making a contribution to an end product
The Fragment on the Professional	Economy Religion	Employment Spirituality	Activity Busyness	- doing one's job - fulfilling life's task
The Fragment on the Altruist	Economy Kinship	Success Affiliation	Revenue Solidarity	- making a contribution to the organization - making a contribution to society
The Fragment on the Moralist	Economy Kinship Law	Products Affiliation Order	Production Solidarity Honesty	- selling ads - maintaining harmony with coworkers - applying ethical selling techniques
The Fragment on the Socializer	Kinship	Affiliation	Solidarity	- caring for coworkers
The Fragment on the Improver	Economy Kinship	Success Affiliation	Improvement Solidarity	- facilitating positive change - caring for people
The Fragment on the Conformist	Economy Kinship	Employment Affiliation	Recognition Conformity	- doing one's job - complying with societal expectations
The Fragment on the Conscientious Subordinate	Economy Education	Success Truth	Goal Achievement Understanding	- working on target - striving for goal achievement
The Fragment on the Economist	Economy Kinship	Success Affiliation	Productivity Solidarity	- leading staff to productivity - intending distributional justice

Table VI - Data Patterns involved in MW Construction - Overview

This concludes the chapter on findings. In the social interaction of listener and narrators the speakers drew from linguistic and cultural elements in the reconstruction of MW, giving not only evidence of how they made sense of everyday experiences, but also of non-standard situations, and how it allowed them to cope even with extraordinary circumstances in the workplace. The chapter also provides clues as to how the speakers 'interacted into being' institutions, teleologies and functions, and how they oriented their actions accordingly. The next chapter provides a discussion of the findings.

5 DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. The first two paragraphs describe how the study answered the first two research questions. The third paragraph, in answering the third research question regarding the nature of MW, synthesizes the findings, and suggests a theoretic model of MW construction. The fourth paragraph discusses the study's main insights. The last paragraph discusses the insights in relation to extant MW literature.

5.1 Answer to RQ1

The first research question (RQ1) asks: "What do employees consider to be MW?", aiming at learning what MW means to the narrators, and capturing the inter-subjective realities that are constructed in social interaction. The following remarks explain how the study answers RQ1.

In their interaction the speakers established work-related identities in the context of the different interview situations with the help of roles. Roles bridge the factually as external experienced reality of institutions on the societal level and the way they are subjectively real to individuals (Berger, 1966:79); they are based on socially formed bodies of knowledge and beliefs, and employees express such beliefs by corresponding actions (i.e., past and future actions on the job, but also interview behavior, e.g., speech acts), which are taken for granted by individual role performers, and internalized as subjective identities. Within the scope of the institutional analysis applied in this study, we must therefore interpret utterances of narrators through the role-identity-lens, that is, we must consider that their utterances are colored by internalized self-apprehensions and corresponding beliefs. Narrators provided utterances during the interviews that were instrumental (i.e., functional) for the establishment or maintenance of their identities. E.g., the utterance "someone has to feed the family" refers to the narrator *fulfilling* the role of a family provider in the institutionalized objective (external, societal) sense, the meaning for the narrator of which can only be fully grasped if it is understood that the narrator also identifies as a family provider (i.e., she internalizes the role of the provider, *being* a provider), otherwise corresponding utterances (and other forms of interactions) would not be fully

intelligible. Based on corresponding insights gained in this study (see Chapter 4 on Findings, and Table I - Summary of RQ1 Key Findings), MW in the sense of RQ1 is work that serves the narrator to enact her work-related identity. (The findings also showed that it is not "enough" for narrators to only fulfill a societal role, it also has to be consistent with an individual's internal identity (see: The Story of the Egalitarian)). Hence, the narrators' work-related identities were established in the process of MW reconstruction. The narrators' particular identities can be found in Table I - Summary of RQ1 Key Findings, and they can be derived from the narratives' respective titles¹⁷. In addition to answering RQ1 the table also gives a strong indication that MW was in all instances related to "The Social", i.e., the greater good of a collective (e.g., family, company, society, etc.). For all narrators MW had a social dimension in that all identities that were established in the stories and dialogues relate to making a contribution to a community: The Educator informs readers, The Provider cares for her family, The Economist helps the organization to stay profitable, The Conformist enacts and therewith maintains institutions, etc. This insight will be further elaborated in the third paragraph of this chapter. The following paragraph will address how RQ2 is answered by the study.

5.2 Answer to RQ2

The second research question (RQ2) that this study aims to answer is: "How is MW constructed?" The following remarks explain how the study answers RQ2.

In the social interaction of listener and narrators the speakers drew from linguistic and cultural elements in the reconstruction of MW. The listener prompted and encouraged the narrators to engage in storytelling about MW by means of semi-structured and open-ended questions. He also gave feedback to the narrators via verbal and non-verbal utterances, as well as body language, and was receptive to detect and interpret such clues from the

¹⁷ Since the establishment of identity is shown by the study to be substantial in MW reconstruction, the author labeled the narrators' identities in the titles of the respective narratives, in order to help the reader associate the notion of such identities as a component of the wider process of MW reconstruction.

narrators. The narrators engaged to different extents in storytelling. Five narrators engaged in elaborate rhetorical storytelling, drawing from a wide range of linguistic elements, while the others answered the interview questions in a more minimalistic dialogical style. All speakers drew on shared cultural understandings. Although this study "identified" certain "elements" that are involved in the reconstruction of MW, it must be pointed out that the subject matter required to not reduce the social construction of MW to a cause and effect relationship of a limited number of variables in a reductionist sense. The multi-faceted social reconstruction of MW must rather be understood in a holistic sense, taking into account the plethora of social interaction elements in cultural and organizational contexts.

5.2.1 Linguistic Elements

Five narrators drew from a wide range of linguistic elements in their storytelling, which are described in extant literature (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; Riessman, 1993; Evans & Green, 2006; Gee, 2014a, 2014b). They used structural elements to organize their stories, rhetorical elements to make their points, prosody to convey emotions, grammar to situate context in time and place and to enliven their stories, and they used formal or informal elements to connect with or distance the listener. However, the narrators varied considerably in the situational use, frequency, and configuration of these elements according to their education and socialization backgrounds. The following remarks illustrate their application in more detail.

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

Narrators differed in the way they made use of structural and thematic organization in the reconstruction of MW. They used abstracts, orientations, complications, evaluations, resolutions, and coda to structure their stories. E.g., in "The Story of the Philosopher Executive" the narrator was very elaborate in his utterances and used strophes to organize his MW story (e.g., establishing orientation, evaluation), while his chapters and stanzas had a thematic character (e.g., establishing different values). Other narrators gave strophes a thematic character (e.g., significance, relevance) and used stanzas to establish orientation and evaluation.

RHETORICAL ELEMENTS

Narrators used negotiation, explanation, parallelism, comparison, ridicule, paradox, echolocation, and hypothetic talk to introduce, clarify, emphasize, reinforce, and justify their standpoints and rationalizations.

PROSODIC ELEMENTS

Narrators used voice pitch, volume, speed, and pauses to convey emotion and to provide contour to coherent idea units (e.g., a falling pitch of the narrator's voice at the end of a thought, signaling closure of that thought to the listener).

GRAMMAR ELEMENTS

Narrators mainly used present tense for orientations, complications, evaluations, resolutions, and coda. Past tense was used in sequential accounts of events. Narrators utilized direct speech, which enlivened their narratives and connected them to the listener. Deictic elements indicating the locus of experience of narrators (e.g., "he came late to the meeting") were used to depict the context in time and space from the perspectives of the narrators, allowing the listener to imagine the scene before his "inner eye". In evaluations narrators used intensifiers (e.g., "it knocked them out of their socks"), and comparators (e.g., "there have always been events, every now and then, but this was the outstanding one"), with the same effect.

FORMALITY ELEMENTS

Narrators used informal language (e.g., contractions, slang, swearwords) to connect with the listener. They used formal language to keep distance with the listener.

All these linguistic elements served the narrators and the listener, in social interaction, to reconstruct MW. However, although linguistic elements were necessary, they were not sufficient in the reconstruction of MW, because the latter happened in cultural contexts. The next subparagraph describes the impact of cultural context on MW construction.

5.2.2 Cultural Elements

Culture can be understood as the totality of man's material and non-material products (Berger, 1967; Ferraro & Briody, 2017). Social institutions have been identified by this study as the cultural elements that are most relevant for answering the research questions. The subsequent sections will address the constituent influence of culture, in its manifestation of social institutions, on the reconstruction of MW. The first section introduces the reader to the general impact of institutions on the reconstruction of MW. The remaining sections discuss the particular institutional dimensions, as well as the impact of other relevant constituents of institutions, like logics, identity, and legitimacy with regard to their role in MW reconstruction.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

During this study three cultural notions were conceived from the interpretation of the stories and dialogue fragments, namely rules, expectations, and shared beliefs. All three notions were apprehended in all the interviews, giving a strong indication for the involvement of social institutions¹⁸ in the reconstruction of MW: Rules are carriers of regulative institutions (or the regulative dimension of a particular social institution), expectations are carriers of normative institutions (or the normative dimension of a particular social institution), and shared beliefs are carriers of cognitive institutions (or the cognitive dimension of a particular social institution) (Scott, 2014). The speakers drew on all the societal institutions as defined by extant literature (Turner, 1997), namely, economy, kinship, religion, polity, law, and education (see: Table II). Since institutions emerged in such a pervasive way in the data, the researcher decided to apply institutional analysis in order to further scrutinize the phenomenon of MW (as was mentioned in the chapter on Methodology). One insight from the institutional analysis is that the triad of institutions that is described by Scott (1994, 2014) must be relativized in the context of this study, due to the primacy of the cognitive dimension in the reconstruction of MW. The subsequent two illustrations are presented for this

¹⁸ Definition: "Institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2014).

purpose, followed by examples of how the cognitive dimension took precedence in the narratives.

Scott's Pillars of Institution

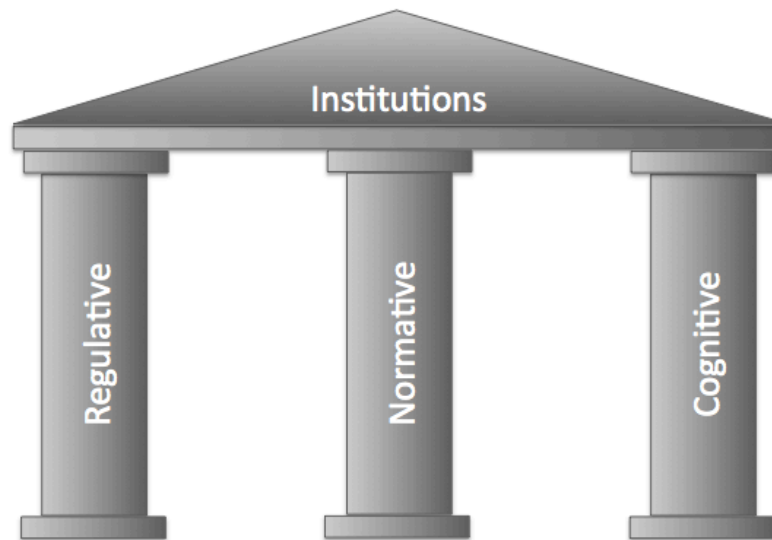


Figure 2 - Pillars of Institution

The illustration above depicts Scott's conception of institutions consisting of a triad of dimensions, namely the regulative, the normative, and the cognitive, which, together, carry an institution (Scott, 1994, 2014).

Institutions and MW Construction

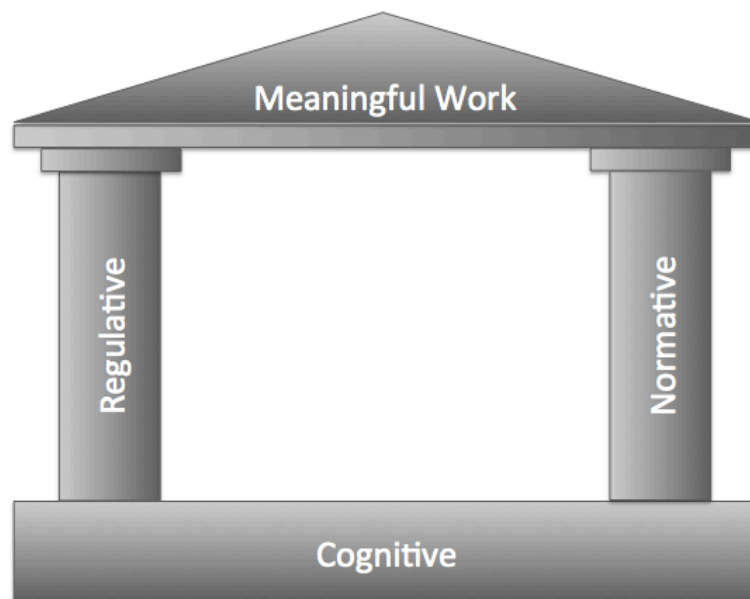


Figure 3 - Institutions and MW Construction

The insight on the reconstruction of MW gained from the previous chapter calls for a modification of Scott's model of institutions within the scope of this study¹⁹, in a way that emphasizes the cognitive dimension as not only a third institutional element that adds to the makeup of institutions, and eventually to the reconstruction of MW, but rather as underlying their very constitution, therewith providing a cognitive fundament for their regulative and normative dimensions. The insight is illustrated by the following example: Narrator Martin states in line 127: *"...in this moment, one must function; that's clear, that is the profession..."* While the narrator's statement "one must function" establishes (i.e., talks into being) the normative dimension of journalism (i.e., professionalism) as a societal²⁰ institution by using the word "must", his subsequent utterance "that's clear" is a much deeper institutional clue. The phrase "that's clear" is not a phrase that establishes normativity, it rather establishes rationality and normality. It is used in the sense of: "it goes without saying that one has to comply with professional norms", thereby taking compliance as such for granted, drawing from a derivative of the societal institution of law, i.e., the Social Contract (as a form of order), which is deeper (i.e., cognitively) institutionalized, as something that is 'outside of awareness' (Turner, 1997). Professional norms rely on compliance, while the cognition of social contract provides the notion of compliance. It is inconceivable that there is no such thing as compliance in the German culture. In other words, from the perspective of social identity, the narrator, as a member of the normative institution 'journalism', "must" comply with professional standards because he feels morally obliged to do so, but as a citizen of a Western democracy it "goes without saying" that he takes compliance as a concept for granted. The following subparagraphs will provide more examples for the primacy of the cognitive dimension of MW reconstruction. As can be seen in detail in the previous chapter, all narratives eventually rest on the cognitive dimension of the respective institutions interacted into being by the speakers.

¹⁹ The intention of the author is not to criticize Scott's triad model of institutions, the insights of this study rather showed a dominance of cognitive constituents involved in the social reconstruction of MW, thus a corresponding illustration might be helpful for the reader to understand the author's way of thinking.

²⁰ Institutions can be investigated on different levels of analysis, according to the number of people affected by them (Scott, 2014). In this study institutions emerged on the individual (e.g., "my world"), organizational (e.g., the "newsroom"), societal (e.g., "minimum wage law"), and global level (e.g., "market economies").

THE COGNITION OF REGULATIVE AND NORMATIVE INSTITUTIONS

The following remarks are offered as a representative example of all the stories and dialogue fragments that dealt with regulation and its implications for the reconstruction of MW. In The Fragment on the Economist (see 4.2.14) the narrator quoted the law on minimum wages, which was relatively recently²¹ introduced by the German government, and communicated it as a constraint to his conception of the meaningfulness of work. The narrator explicitly labeled it as "meaningless". At first sight the researcher interpreted the fragment as drawing on the regulative dimension of the institution of law, which, according to Scott (2014), is characterized or "carried" by specific laws or statutes. The researcher also assumed the narrator's legal allegiance to the new law and therewith the logic that complying with the law would be in the best interest of the narrator. Hence, the argumentation up to this point is based on the assumption that the narrator draws merely on a regulative institution in the reconstruction of MW. However, this interpretation does not cover all the implications involved, because, depending on the social identity of the narrator that is established during storytelling, taking personal and professional background as well as other context into account, the institutional scope of the fragment must be extended. Accordingly, while legally complying with the law as a German citizen, it can also be argued that the narrator is a high-ranking employee in a responsible position, and as such he has the professional obligation to obey labor law. It can even be assumed that his superiors expected him to implement the new law in his sphere of influence. Hence, the fragment shows also evidence of a normative institution, namely professionalism. Moreover, if we consider the fact that the narrator has been socialized in three different countries (i.e., USSR, GDR, and FRG) with substantial exposure to two different economic systems (i.e., planned economy, market economy) we can assume that his articulated loyalty to the market economy principle of "pay for performance" is sincere, that he is aware of it, and that he applies a right-or-wrong logic to the matter, which, again, according to Scott (2014), would be evidence of the normative institution of Economics. While the interpretation up to this point helps to understand the

²¹ The minimum wage law ("Mindestlohngesetz") was introduced in Germany on 1st January, 2015.

cultural resources narrators and listeners draw on in MW reconstruction, it is suggested here that at the root of the fragment at hand lie the narrator's and the listener's taken-for-granted cognitions of the narrator's social identities and their corresponding logics, with their social vocabulary and knowledge (e.g., "everybody was happy and content"). It is a shared understanding of narrator and listener that it is *normal* for citizens to comply with the law, that it is *understandable* that it is appropriate for managers to implement labor law, and that it is *typical* to believe in the pay-for-performance principle as an actor in free market economies, while the terms 'normal', 'understandable', and 'typical' are qualifiers of cognitive institutions (Scott, 2014).

The following is offered as a representative example of all the stories and dialogue fragments that dealt with the establishment of ostensibly normative institutions. In the 'Fragment on the Socializer' the narrator establishes affiliation as a purpose in the workplace. At first sight the researcher apprehended the notion of the social institution of kinship via his interpretation of the fragment. A norm of kinship (here in its wider sense in the form of a collective of employees) is to take care of each other's wellbeing (Turner, 1997; Macionis & Gerber, 2018), implying certain expectations toward members that are governed by a moral obligation, relying on a good or bad logic to conform. It can be expected that any deviations from this norm in the form of inappropriate behavior would be sanctioned by the members of the narrator's social network (e.g., by shunning), thus making compliance a matter of honor and shame (Scott, 2014). However, the normative expectations are not the only institutional clue provided via this fragment in the given context. As an employee the narrator is also in a contractual and thus legal relationship with the organization. He is subject to labor law and company policies. Deviation from such rules could be enforced by way of legal sanctions (e.g., dismissal). It can be expected that the narrator is not only morally obliged to look after the wellbeing of his colleagues, but that he is also coerced by company policies to collaborate with other employees, following a logic of avoiding legal sanctions, regardless of whether such policies exists in writing or by verbal order. Such mandatory affiliation has certainly also contributed to the forming of the narrator's social network in the

first place. The narrator must have strived for affiliation with his coworkers, even if it were only to comply with company rules and to avoid legal sanctions. Finally, legal enforcement of contractual obligations, and morally governed compliance with norms are not questioned by the speakers and are thus taken for granted, providing substance to the underlying cognitive interpretation of this fragment. The next subparagraph will elaborate on the cognitive dimension.

THE COGNITIVE DIMENSION

The cognitive dimension of institutions is carried by shared beliefs (Scott, 2014). The mechanism of shared beliefs relies on reciprocal typification, i.e., interpreting and reifying the factually experienced external world and communicating about it based on equal or equivalent understandings and corresponding categorizations in social interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Although narrators used regulative (e.g., permitted, forbidden, or mandated) and normative institutional logics (e.g., right, wrong, or appropriate) to reconstruct MW, such logics were fundamentally based on shared beliefs and cognitions that narrators took for granted according to their social identities in given contexts, as was shown in the previous subparagraphs. Such shared beliefs, as carriers of the cognitive dimension, instilled social concepts that narrators strived for, like success, and progress. None of the narrators questioned their use of the concept of striving. They rather took it for granted that striving for something is what people do, giving another strong indication for the cognitive dimension involved in MW reconstruction. In this sense, all institutions established by the speakers within the scope of this study were grounded on the cognitive dimension.

LOGICS

Scholars have identified institutional logics as constitutive for institutions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Likewise, institutional logics have been shown in this study to be constitutive in the reconstruction of MW. While regulative logics relied on the question whether something was formally mandated, permitted or prohibited (e.g., piecework instead of hourly wages with regard to minimum wage law), normative logics asked for appropriateness, in other

words, whether compliance would be the 'right' thing to do (e.g., treating subordinates with humaneness). Cognitive institutional logics rely on the question whether something is normal, typical, or thinkable, e.g., striving for progress is normal, typical and thinkable, while striving for ruin is not, except under extreme circumstances or subject to psychological disorders (Scott, 2014). This understanding of institutional logics is decisive to understand MW in all its dimensions, and in order to grasp the relationship between MW and social identity, as will be explained in the next subparagraph.

SOCIAL IDENTITY

The social identity of the narrators was never vacant, to the contrary, narrators enacted multiple identities according to each context they provided by means of their storytelling and interacting, outstanding examples of which are indicated by the headlines of the different stories and dialogue fragments mentioned in the previous chapter. As *employees* the narrators knew they were in a contractual and thus legal relationship with the organization, and as such they knew they were subject to rules and policies (e.g., narrator Frank, line 52: "if they (i.e., the workers) do not function anymore, or maybe make a mistake, then they will be thrown overboard"). As *professionals* they were subject to social norms and corresponding expectations (e.g., narrator Martin, line 127: "...*in this moment, one must function; that's clear, that is the profession...*"). As members of their communities, i.e., *citizens*, they gave clues about their belief in common definitions of societal concepts, e.g., progress. Narrator Daniel, states in line 49: "Everything that provides some kind of progress is meaningful... be it technological, or medical progress, or educating, or teaching, or even, indeed, that one helps other people... this is all progress, in my opinion..." Such a definition of progress implies that striving for the achievement of a certain goal (i.e., profitability) is normal, something that is not questioned. The typical Western person strives for success (D'Andrade, 1984, Nisbet, 2017). But at the same time the narrators also cherished cognitive consistency and therewith assigned legitimacy to their work realities.

LEGITIMACY

In this subparagraph it will be shown that the cognitive dimension is not only constitutive for the regulative and the normative institutional dimensions in the reconstruction of MW, it also provides it with rational consistency, and therewith legitimacy (Scott, 2014). In 'The Fragment on the Egalitarian' (see 4.2.3) narrator Frank communicates a situation of inconsistency at work. In the interaction with the listener he implies the social institution of law, a corresponding appreciation of order (i.e., equality), and, in context, distributional justice to achieve such order. For the narrator work is meaningful if it is legally and morally sound, in other words, if it is legitimate²². The fragment points to the regulative dimension of the institution of law, namely the organization's fiduciary duty of care towards its employees, but it draws also on the narrator's normative understanding of the institution of law in terms of fair employment (i.e., employers are expected to adhere to distributional justice). However, as was shown above, cognitive institutions underlie regulative and normative institutions in the reconstruction of MW, and the examination of legitimacy strengthens this finding: The narrator takes for granted that the listener shares the narrator's interpretation of order (i.e., equality), and his longing for justice, which is typical for Western Europeans. Any opposing interpretation of the narrator's concept of equality and distributional justice would be cognitively inconsistent and thus confusing and, in consequence, alienating to him.

This paragraph showed how the study answered RQ2. It demonstrated how narrators reconstructed MW in social interaction with the listener, drawing holistically from a plethora of linguistic and cultural elements. It also illustrated the significance of the cognitive dimension for the institutional grounding of MW. The next paragraph will engage in a synthesis of the findings gained by the study.

²² "Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions." (Scott, 2014)

5.3 Answer to RQ3

The study shows that in the interaction situation of the interviews phenomena became visible that have not been investigated by extant functionalist MW research, e.g., that workers rely on and orient towards the social, i.e., that workers draw on cultural cognitions and strive to contribute to society, and that a social dimension is fundamentally constitutive of a wider multifaceted nature of MW. The following subparagraph elaborates on the integration of the different dimensions involved in the constitution of MW, as suggested by the insights of this study.

5.3.1 Model of MW Reconstruction

As described by constructionist scholars, and as confirmed within the scope of this study, individuals cognize and interact within and through a general order, which can be understood as a matrix of meanings, a symbolic universe, an institutional framework, a public order, or a general nomos²³, which exists before individuals, and which will exist after them (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Berger, 1967; Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Turner, 1994; Scott, 2014). The general nomos defines reality, and provides explanations as to the nature of things and corresponding values. Constituent subject matter of the general nomos is society. Within the general nomos we can differentiate cultural and organizational nomoi, and other kinds of nomoi with corresponding collectives as their subject matter (e.g., the employees of a particular company). In this study the speakers did draw and act on already existing social institutions, as has been shown in the previous chapter, thereby interacting within and through the general nomos, but at the same time they also created dyadic nomoi, i.e., common meaningful orders negotiated between the speakers during the interview situation²⁴. In other words, such dyadic nomoi were "interacted into being" in the interview situation, as derivatives of the general and other cultural or organizational nomoi, which are themselves derivatives

²³ Berger coined the expression of the "nomos" (plural: "nomoi") (Berger, 1967).

²⁴ The dyadic nomoi interacted into being by the speakers drew from the institutions economy, kinship, religion, polity, law, and education. However, when talking about interacting 'within and through' the nomos, it has to be kept in mind that social institutions are in the first place factually experienced as external objective realities on the societal level (existing before individuals are born). The internalization of societal roles bridges such objective and subjective realities, as another cognitive mechanism (like notions, associations, etc.) underlying MW reconstruction (see paragraph 5.1).

of the general nomos. The speakers also derived teleologies (i.e., notions of end purposes) from these dyadic nomoi, e.g., progress (see: The Fragment on the Progressionist), success (see: The Fragment on the Achiever), and assigned functions that are instrumental to achieve such teleologies, e.g., solidarity in order to achieve affiliation (see: The Story of the Philosopher Executive). The narrators then invariably oriented their actions towards a higher social good, often expressed via the claim that they wanted to "make a contribution". In aggregation these insights suggest an enhanced theoretic model of MW, which is founded on the constructionist stance. The following figure illustrates the model of MW reconstruction, followed by its description.

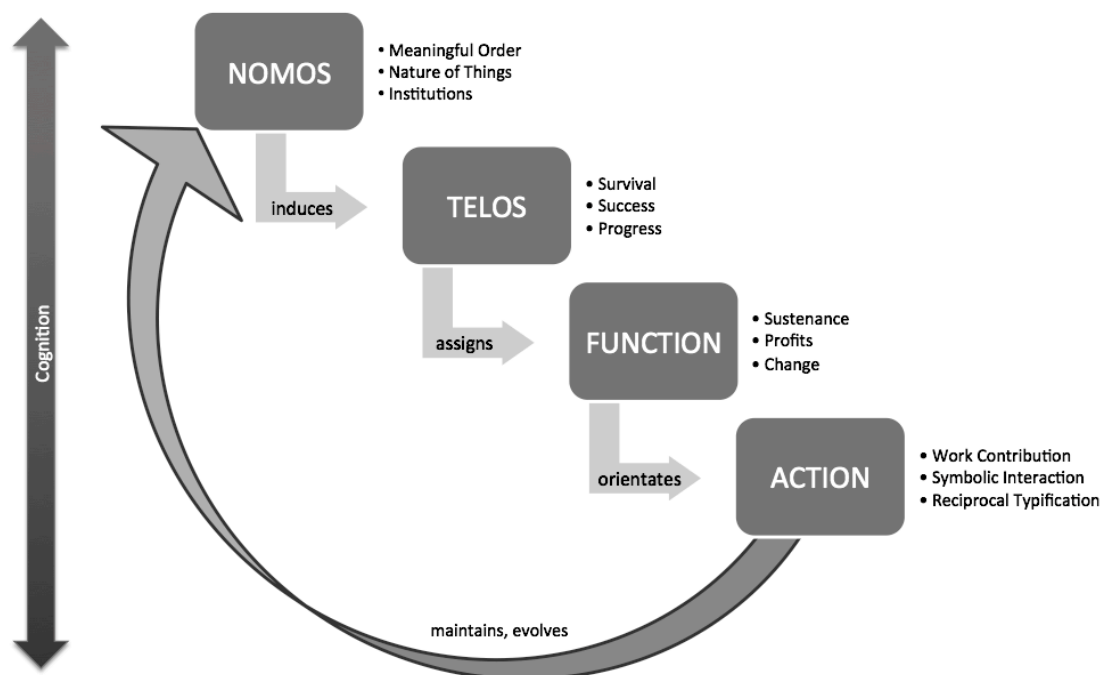


Figure 4 - Model of MW Reconstruction

The picture above illustrates the social reconstruction of MW as suggested by the insights of this study. The nomos is the institutional order or common matrix of meaning and values from which employees draw their explanations of the working world and its phenomena (e.g., the social institution 'kinship' provides a framework of meaning that values each member of the employee's family), which employees take for granted when they draw on the nomos,

inducing (i.e., cognitively associating) corresponding teleologies, assigning functions, and orientating actions. E.g., the utterance “someone has to feed the family” (see: The Fragment of the Provider), draws on the nomos that “one provides for her family”, (i.e., based on the institutions 'kinship' and 'economy', and their corresponding values), inducing a telos of striving for such values, (i.e., survival is an *end* worth striving for), assigning a function to work (i.e., the employee works *in order to* provide for her family), orientating the employee as to the kind of action that one performs under the circumstances (i.e., profession, job, intensity, quality). If the work that the employee actually performs is consistent with nomos, telos, and function, then the employee apprehends it as MW. To the contrary, if the work that the employee actually performs is inconsistent with nomos, telos, or function, then she apprehends it as meaningless work. Evidence for this "consistency check" can be found in The Fragment on the Egalitarian. The consistency check suggests a feedback loop, as depicted in the illustration. The feedback loop in the figure also depicts the notion that the nomos is maintained when both speakers agree on a common nomos, as it was the case in most of the narratives, but it can also evolve²⁵ in the process. As suggested by the findings of this study, the entire process of MW reconstruction was enacted by the speakers via cultural cognitions (i.e., associations to knowledge, like drawing on nomos, inducing notions of telos, assigning corresponding functional provisions, orientating actions to functions, internalizing societal roles as subjective identities), as indicated by the vertical arrow in the picture. The arrow is bidirectional because narrators cognized from and towards the nomos, according to the relationships between the constituents nomos, telos, function, and action, including the feedback loop. However, the main insight from the study is an enhanced understanding of the nature of MW as a multi-faceted social construction, grounded on the nomos and corresponding cognitions.

This concludes the integration of insights. In this paragraph it was also shown that function related to teleology is one of the constituents of MW reconstruction, therefore the revision of functionalist MW studies from the

²⁵ For an example of the evolution of a dyadic nomoi in this study, see : The Good Journalist, strophe 1.

constructionist perspective seems promising for a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of MW, and for corresponding applications. The last paragraph elaborates on this notion.

5.4 Evaluation of Insights

As mentioned in the introduction the aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the nature of MW. The study achieves this objective in that it illustrates the social dimension of MW and its constituents. It does so, however, within the limits of the social interaction between the researcher and the participants of the study. This interaction was triggered by the directed questions of the researcher. While this approach provided rich and relevant data, which allowed insights into a fundamental understanding of MW, the study provides only indirect insights (i.e., based on corresponding narratives) as to the social construction of MW within the interaction between organizational members (e.g., colleagues, supervisors, subordinates), organizational members and family members, friends, neighbors, customers (e.g., newspaper readers, advertising clients), as well as other individuals, organizations, government agencies, social media, etc. It seems reasonable to suggest that future MW research should apply constructionist research methods also for the investigation of MW in a direct manner.

5.5 Reconciliation with extant Studies

Extant MW research can be reconciled with this study in that its insights relate to the functional component of the MW model presented above, to the extent that they are congruent with the nature of MW as a social construction. Job Characteristics Theory²⁶ (JCT) (Hackman & Oldham 1974, 1975, 1976), as the most frequently quoted example of extant functionalist literature related to MW research, may serve here as a representative example in this regard. JCT suggests that individuals can be conditioned into a mental state of meaningfulness by tailoring their job characteristics (i.e., skill variety, task identity, task significance, feedback, and autonomy), resulting in higher job satisfaction and productivity. The present study does not doubt the practical merits of JCT. However, Hackman & Oldham take a number of the variables

²⁶ Job Characteristics Theory is also known as "Job Enrichment", or "Job Redesign".

that they used in their study for granted, without giving any explanation as to their provenance and how they impact or co-constitute MW. E.g., JCT takes for granted that employees are expected to constantly increase productivity, that employees strive for self-determination and the satisfaction of other 'human needs' (i.e., basic needs allegedly 'inherent' in human nature), and, most relevant to this study, that employees strive for MW. But job characteristics can only be reasonably tailored with the aim to somehow "produce" MW when the nature of MW is understood. One insight of the present study is that extant functionalist MW research ignores the nomos, and is therefore ontologically and epistemologically incomplete²⁷. It is ontologically incomplete, because it does not take into account the social dimension of the nature of MW. It is epistemologically incomplete, because it does not take into account what can be known about MW, i.e., insights that can be gained from the constructionist perspective, which was shown to be relevant in this study. Accordingly, e.g., a normative study as JCT could benefit from constructionist insights in that the latter could provide impulses for an enhanced Job Redesign with constructionist competence (e.g., controlling for cognitive consistency).

²⁷ At best case it could be said, albeit in a more reductionist fashion, that the functionalist insights are necessary, but not sufficient for the explanation of MW.

6 CONCLUSION

This study was an attempt to better understand the nature of MW. The researcher applied qualitative research methods to investigate the subject under an interpretive paradigm, and a constructionist perspective. An organization from the newspaper industry with a rich and dynamic context was selected, and data was collected from thirty employees by means of open-ended and semi-structured interviews. Data was interpreted with the help of narrative and institutional analysis. In hindsight the methodology selected for the study was adequate, as it generated rich data, facilitated in-depth analysis, addressed the research questions in a substantial way, making a relevant contribution to MW literature.

6.1 Contribution

At the beginning of this study it was argued that extant literature applied a one-dimensional perspective to the phenomenon of MW, implying it to be a functional component of need satisfaction or system regulation. However, the present study showed that a cultural-cognitive multi-dimensional scope is needed for an understanding of MW. Accordingly, the study identified institutional orders (i.e., 'nomos'), teleologies (i.e., 'telos'), functions, and corresponding social actions as constituent to MW reconstruction, and different cultural-cognitive mechanisms (e.g., association, internalization) involved in its integrative process. Hence, the main contribution of this study to MW research is an enhanced understanding of the nature of MW, which can be understood as a social construction, which is interacted into being through institutional cognitions in multifaceted contexts. This contribution has corresponding practical applications (e.g., constructionist competence), and significant implications for organizational studies, like organizational behavior (e.g., work motivation, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, leadership, organizational culture, reward systems), and organizational design (e.g., task allocation, hierarchies, resource allocation). Accordingly, the insights of this study suggest that organizational practitioners should raise awareness in leaders with regard to the social nature of MW. E.g., face-to-face interaction appears to be crucial in the social reconstruction of MW in the interaction between superior and subordinate. Especially in the anonymity of

the workforce in larger corporations it is thinkable that there is a corresponding lack of direct social interaction between leader and follower, which would be counterproductive to MW reconstruction, with corresponding consequences for employee engagement and organizational commitment. The results of the study also commend the constructionist perspective for future MW research, based on a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of MW.

6.2 Limitations and Future Research

On a general level, constructionist research relies on subjective interpretations of social phenomena, and is therewith prone to critique with regard to the problem of arbitrariness. More constructionist MW research is therefore needed to allow for a wider array of samples, and, correspondingly, enhanced reliability and validity. In particular, this study was confined to a specific organization, industry, and country. Since context is so crucial for social construction, as was shown throughout the study, it is delicate to generalize the insights of the study. Comparative studies in different contexts are necessary to alleviate this constraint. It is also suggested that future MW research should not consider MW as a monolithic phenomenon that can be reduced to cause and effect relationships, but rather acknowledge the multifaceted and holistic nature of MW and the insights that can be gained from the application of a constructionist perspective, in order to allow for a deeper and more complete insight into the nature of MW, not only for the benefit of organizations, but also in order to make workplaces more humane, and, indeed, more meaningful.

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8 APPENDICES

8.1 Literature Mapping

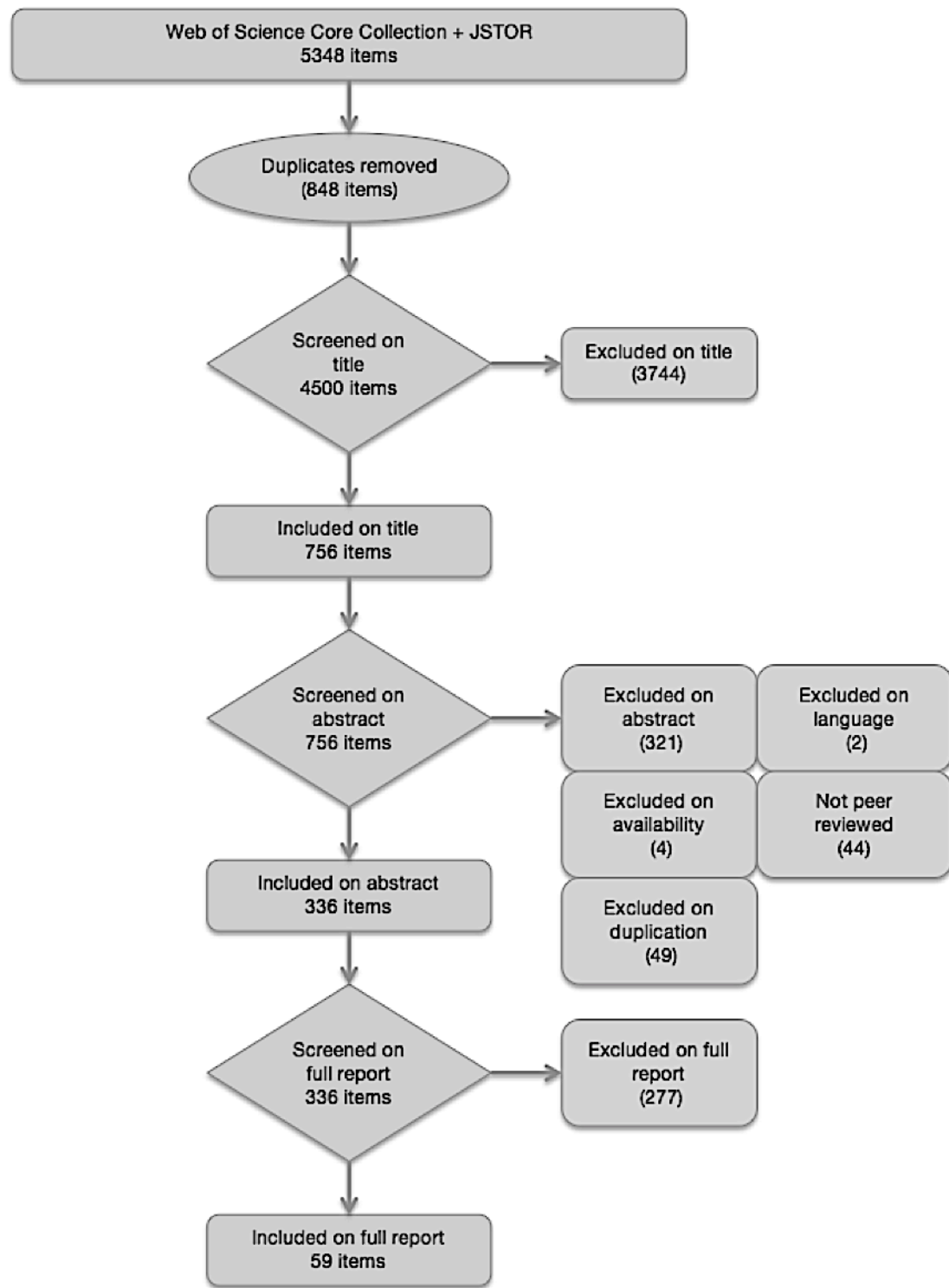


Figure 5 - Overview of Literature Mapping Process

8.2 Interview Guide

The following phrases and questions have been used during the interviews as inducements for storytelling.

Topics related to Context

1. *"Tell me about your age/gender/origin/marital status/education/parents."*
2. *"Tell me how you became a(n) _____ (e.g. 'editor')."*
3. *"Tell me how you ended up working for Medienhaus."*
4. *"Tell me about your job at Medienhaus."*
5. *"Tell me how a typical work day looks like for you."*
6. *"Describe your organization with a corresponding metaphor.
6.1. "Why can it be compared to a ...?"*
7. *"Relate an incident that demonstrates the purpose of your organization."*

Topics related to Research Questions

8. *"If a friend asked you what meaningful/meaningless work is, what would you answer?"*
9. *"Tell me how your job at Medienhaus is meaningful/meaningless."*
10. *"Tell me which of your activities at Medienhaus are most meaningful/meaningless."*
11. *"Tell me how you communicate meaningful events to colleagues or supervisors."*
12. *"Tell me how your colleagues/supervisors/company communicate(s) meaningful events to you."*
13. *"What interferes with meaningfulness in your workplace?"*
14. *"Are there certain times when you experience meaningfulness/meaninglessness at work?"*
15. *"Are there certain places where you experience meaningfulness/meaninglessness at work?"*
16. *"Who has influence on your experience of meaningfulness/meaninglessness at your workplace?"*
17. *"What has influence on your experience of meaningfulness/meaninglessness at your workplace?"*
18. *"Describe what goes on in your mind when you experience meaningfulness/meaninglessness at work."*
19. *"How could your work at Medienhaus become more meaningful?"*
20. *"Why do you work?"*

8.3 Deutschsprachige Zusammenfassung

Mit der vorliegenden empirischen Arbeit beabsichtigt der Verfasser das Verständnis von sinnvoller Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der Organisationslehre zu vertiefen. Im ersten Kapitel wird der Leser in zwei Schritten in die Thematik eingeführt. Zum einen wird die Relevanz der Forschung zur sinnvollen Arbeit für Organisationen aufgezeigt. So wird darauf hingewiesen, dass in der bestehenden Literatur das Empfinden von sinnvoller Arbeit als eine wichtige Voraussetzung für zielführendes Arbeitsverhalten, Arbeitszufriedenheit, und Arbeitsleistung beschrieben wurde. Zum anderen werden in diesem Kapitel die ontologischen und epistemologischen Limitationen der bestehenden Literatur zur sinnvollen Arbeit herausgestellt, indem darauf hingewiesen wird, dass diese auf eindimensionalen funktionalistischen Ansätzen aus der psychologischen oder der soziologischen Perspektive beruhen. Diese Ansätze setzen in reduktionistischer Weise voraus, dass sinnvolle Arbeit das Produkt (psychologisch: als mentaler Zustand verstanden; soziologisch: als Systemkomponente) weniger Schlüsselfaktoren ist, und der Bedürfnisbefriedigung von Arbeitnehmern oder der Steuerung von Verhalten in Organisationen dienen. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde jedoch ein konstruktivistischer Forschungsansatz gewählt, um einen Beitrag zu einem erweiterten Verständnis des Wesens von sinnvoller Arbeit zu leisten; dabei wird sinnvolle Arbeit als soziales Konstrukt verstanden und mit interpretativen Methoden untersucht. Vor diesem Hintergrund werden drei Forschungsfragen formuliert. 1) Was verstehen die Studienteilnehmer unter sinnvoller Arbeit? Diese Frage zielt auf das Verständnis von sinnvoller Arbeit aus der Sicht der Teilnehmer, unter Einbeziehung der inter-subjektiven Realität, die als Folge von sozialer Interaktion entsteht. 2) Wie wird sinnvolle Arbeit konstruiert? Diese Frage richtet sich auf die Art und Weise wie sinnvolle Arbeit in sozialer Interaktion konstruiert wird. 3) Was ist das Wesen sinnvoller Arbeit? Mit der Beantwortung der dritten Forschungsfrage beabsichtigt der Verfasser eine grundlegende Einsicht in die Natur sinnvoller Arbeit aus konstruktivistischer Perspektive. Im zweiten Kapitel wurden die Ergebnisse vorausgehender Literaturbeiträge zum Themenkreis der sinnvollen Arbeit zusammenfassend dokumentiert. Die Beiträge wurden gemäß ihrer Betrachtungsweisen

gegliedert, in Studien aus der psychologisch funktionalistischen, der soziologisch funktionalistischen, und der konstruktivistischen Perspektive. In Kapitel drei wird die Methodik der Arbeit erörtert. Zu diesem Zweck wurde die Eignung unterschiedlicher epistemologischer Ansätze, Paradigmen und Methoden für die Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen diskutiert. Im Gegensatz zur bestehenden Literatur leistet die vorliegende Arbeit einen Beitrag zu einem grundlegenden Verständnis der Konstitution von sinnvoller Arbeit an sich. Dabei geht der Verfasser mit einem qualitativen, nicht reduktionistischen Ansatz vor, unter Verwendung eines interpretativen Paradigmas, anhand dessen sinnvolle Arbeit als soziale Konstruktion betrachtet wird. Letztere wurde mit den konstruktivistischen Methoden der Diskursanalyse, Narrative Analyse, Institutionelle Analyse und Interaktionsanalyse untersucht. Um die Komplexität des einzubeziehenden multiplen Kontexts auf ein praktisch realisierbares Maß zu beschränken, wurde eine Fallstudie in einem Zeitungsverlag (Aachener Zeitung) durchgeführt, der dem Verfasser durch langjährige Geschäftsbeziehungen in seiner beruflichen Tätigkeit bereits bekannt war. In dem genannten Betrieb wurden insgesamt dreißig Tiefeninterviews geführt. Die Interviewteilnehmer wurden auf freiwilliger Basis aus verschiedenen Unternehmensbereichen und Hierarchieebenen rekrutiert, um ein möglichst breites Spektrum potentieller Konstruktionen sinnvoller Arbeit abzudecken. Die Interviews wurden vom Verfasser durchgeführt, per Videoaufzeichnung dokumentiert, wörtlich transkribiert, und anschließend analysiert und interpretiert. Gegenstand von Analyse und Interpretation waren der Volltext und dessen linguistische und kulturelle Elemente, der soziale Hintergrund der Sprecher und des Verfassers, der betriebliche und kulturelle Kontext, die Interviewsituation, sowie Merkmale non-verbaler und verbaler Interaktion. Im vierten Kapitel werden die Ergebnisse der Studie vorgestellt. Zu diesem Zweck werden besonders relevante Interviewteile präsentiert, sowie deren ausführliche Interpretationen. Im fünften Kapitel werden die Ergebnisse der Studie diskutiert und synthetisiert. Die Interviewpartner bezogen sich in der Konstruktion sinnvoller Arbeit auf die soziale Ordnung ihrer Gesellschaft, d.h., sie reflektierten während der Interaktion mit dem Interviewer in den Logiken der von ihnen im Laufe ihrer Sozialisierung internalisierten Institutionen,

identifizierten sich damit, leiteten aus entsprechenden Kognitionen Teleologien ab, assoziierten entsprechende Funktionen zu deren Umsetzung, und agierten dementsprechend. Das sechste Kapitel enthält Schlussfolgerungen. Im ersten Abschnitt wird der Beitrag der Studie zu einem erweiterten Verständnis des Wesens von sinnvoller Arbeit herausgestellt. Sinnvolle Arbeit kann demnach verstanden werden als soziale Konstruktion, welche innerhalb multipler Kontexte durch institutionelle Kognitionen in sozialer Interaktion entsteht. In einem weiteren Abschnitt weist der Verfasser darauf hin, dass die Studie auch einen Beitrag zu einem erweiterten Verständnis der bestehenden funktionalistischen Literatur leistet, indem sie vorschlägt Funktion als eine der Dimensionen der sozialen Konstruktion von sinnvoller Arbeit zu verstehen. Im nächsten Abschnitt erfolgt eine Erörterung der gewonnenen Erkenntnis im Rahmen der Interaktion zwischen Forscher und Studienteilnehmer. Im letzten Abschnitt erfolgt eine Betrachtung der Limitationen der Studie (z.B. bezüglich einer möglichen Verallgemeinerung) und eine Empfehlung zu weiterer konstruktivistischer Forschung zur Steigerung von Validität und Zuverlässigkeit der Ergebnisse. Kapitel sieben verzeichnet eine Liste der verwendeten Quellen. Kapitel acht beinhaltet die folgenden Anlagen: eine Übersicht zum Literatúrauswahlprozess, die verwendete Interview-Vorlage, diese deutschsprachige Zusammenfassung, eine ehrenwörtliche Erklärung, und den Lebenslauf des Verfassers.

8.4 Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

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Hiermit erkläre ich,

- 1 dass mir die geltende Promotionsordnung bekannt ist;
- 2 dass ich die Dissertation selbst angefertigt, keine Textabschnitte eines Dritten oder eigene Prüfungsarbeiten ohne Kennzeichnung übernommen und alle von mir benutzten Hilfsmittel, persönlichen Mitteilungen und Quellen in meiner Arbeit angegeben habe;
- 3 dass ich bei der Auswahl und Auswertung des Materials sowie bei der Herstellung des Manuskriptes keine unzulässige Hilfe in Anspruch genommen habe;
- 4 dass ich nicht die Hilfe einer kommerziellen Promotionsvermittlung in Anspruch genommen habe und dass Dritte weder unmittelbar noch mittelbar geldwerte Leistungen von mir für Arbeiten erhalten haben, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt der vorgelegten Dissertation stehen;
- 5 dass ich die Dissertation noch nicht als Prüfungsarbeit für eine staatliche oder andere wissenschaftliche Prüfung eingereicht habe;
- 6 dass ich nicht die gleiche, eine in wesentlichen Teilen ähnliche oder eine andere Abhandlung bei einer anderen Hochschule bzw. anderen Fakultät als Dissertation eingereicht habe.

Spanish Fork, 7. Oktober 2019

.....
Peter Warmbier

8.5 Lebenslauf

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- Grundschule Straberg, 1969-1973
- Staatliche Realschule Nastätten, 1973-1980
- Berufsausbildung zum Kfz-Mechaniker bei der Deutschen Bundespost und an der Berufsschule Koblenz, 1980-1983
- Hochschulzugangsberechtigung, Fachhochschule Gießen, 2007
- Dipl.-Inf. (FH), Wilhelm-Büchner-Hochschule, Darmstadt, 2005-2009
- Master of Business Administration, Utah Valley University, USA, 2011-2013

Berufserfahrung

- 1984-1991: Deutsche Luftwaffe. Tätigkeiten als Zeitsoldat:
 - Flugabfertiger
 - Flugabfertiger-Meister (FAA Aircraft Dispatcher License)
 - Fluglotse (Tower Lizenz)
- 1992-1994: AeroLloyd GmbH & Co. KG, Oberursel. Position: Flight Operations Manager.
- 1994-1995: Polietilenos de Cuautla, Mexico. Selbständig.
- 1996-1998: Aviation Handling Services GmbH, Düsseldorf. Position: Stellvertretender Stations Manager.
- 1998-2007: Digital Technology International GmbH, Griesheim. Position: General Manager
- 2007-2013: Digital Technology International LLC, USA. Position: International Financial Controller.
- 2013-2014: Utah Valley University, USA. Position: Adjunct Instructor.
- seit 2014: Utah Valley University, USA. Position: Lecturer.

Auszeichnungen

- MBA Outstanding Student Award, Utah Valley University, 2013
- Associate Fellow, Higher Education Academy, 2018

Wissenschaftliche Entwicklung

- Doktorandenkolloquium, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, 2015. Präsentation des Dissertationsthemas: "The Social Construction of Meaningfulness in the Workplace".
- Research Kolloquium, Woodbury School of Business, Utah Valley University, 2015. Präsentation des Forschungskonzepts: "The Social Construction of Meaningful Work".
- Fourth Austrian Early Scholars Workshop in Management, Johannes Kepler University, 2016. Präsentation des Konzeptpapiers: How an Institutional Model of Meaningful Work can help to understand Sense-Making in Organizations.
- New Institutionalism Workshop, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2017. Präsentation des Konzeptpapiers: The Cognitive Institutionalization of Meaningful Work.

Akademische Positionen

- Adjunct Instructor, Utah Valley University, Department of Strategic Management and Operations, 2013-2014
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Lehrerfahrung

Die folgenden Vorlesungen wurden in englischer Sprache an der Utah Valley University gehalten: Introduction to Business, Organizational Behavior, Business Ethics, International Business, Cross-Cultural Communication for International Business, Compensation and Benefits.

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